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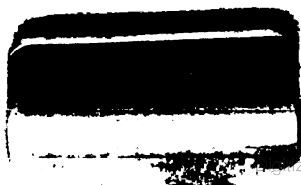
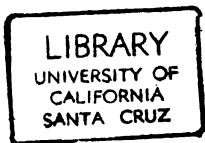
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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

HOW CLASSICAL SCHOLARS AND TEACHERS MAY HELP THE CLASSICAL SURVEY

To all classical scholars and teachers: In last May's number of the JOURNAL our first mention was made of the proposed survey of classical education in the secondary schools of the United States. The plans of the Advisory Committee in charge of the survey are now matured and are presented in some detail in the present number in an article by Professor W. L. Carr, of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, and Mr. Mason D. Gray, of East High School, Rochester, New York, who have been chosen by the committee as special investigators in charge of the survey.

These investigators are appealing to you for assistance along the lines described below. It is earnestly to be hoped that we shall all desire, not merely to be the objects of the survey, or indifferent and sceptical onlookers, but hearty co-workers in this great movement.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP IN THE CLASSICAL INVESTIGATION

The Advisory Committee of the American Classical League, which is conducting the investigation described in another article of this issue, is greatly in need of assistance from the teachers of Latin throughout the country, both those who may be engaged in graduate study in some college or university and those actually teaching.

To graduate students in Latin the report of the committee offers many interesting, valuable, and intensely practical problems for study and investigation.

In the first place graduate students are needed who are willing to take either their major or their minor work in education and work under the direction of such men as Buckingham or Pressey at Ohio

State University, Lodge, Thorndike, McCall, Briggs or Abbott at Columbia, Yocum at Pennsylvania, Holmes and Inglis at Harvard, Henmon at Wisconsin, Wood at Michigan, Charters at the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, Haggerty at Minnesota, Davis at Pittsburgh.

These men are all taking an active part in the classical investigation and the list is being added to constantly. But they need graduate students trained in Latin to work with them. It is impossible in this limited space to outline in detail the problems that these men are attacking. With the exception of the vocabulary problem, in which Mr. Thorndike is particularly interested, these problems are in general concerned with the construction, administration, and interpretation of the tests which the committee proposes to use in its survey. Full information is contained in Bulletin 23 which can be secured from either of the investigators whose names appear at the close of this article.

In other cases men whose coöperation we have invited are waiting to see whether competent students will be available. It is hoped that every institution of importance will make some contribution to the solution of some problem connected with the survey. If any teacher is planning to do graduate work this coming year in any institution not mentioned in the above list, we should welcome inquiries.

In the second place, there are many special studies involved in the survey which will fall wholly within the field of the classical departments. Any teacher who is now taking graduate work in any classical department and who would be interested in making some definite contribution to the success of this enterprise is very cordially invited to communicate with us. A special Bulletin (No. 17) outlines some of the available topics and may be had on application.

In the third place the committee desires to enlist the active coöperation of a large number of teachers in carrying out special inquiries that are easily susceptible to subdivisions into small units. There is a very important inquiry which Mr. Thorndike will direct concerned with the vocabulary problem. He needs the coöperation, in addition to a number of graduate students, of about one hundred teachers throughout the country, preferably in groups of five or ten, each one of whom will give thirty hours of volunteer assistance during the coming year. Full information regarding this coöperative enterprise is contained in Bulletin 31, which may be obtained on application.

Another enterprise in which about two hundred teachers are now coöperating is connected with the collection and evaluation of the actual Latin in use today, as defined in objectives of Section B of the Revised Preliminary Report. About two hundred more teachers are needed. Full information is contained in a special bulletin (No. 14) which may be secured on application.

TRIAL BY JURY IN ATHENS AND AMERICA

BY J. O. LOFBERG
University of Texas

No modern admirer of Athenian civilization has allowed his enthusiasm to blind him entirely to the defects inherent in the Athenian administration of justice. Unbiased treatises¹ on this subject invariably call attention to the weaknesses in the system, and even contemporary critics, such as Plato, Aristophanes, and Xenophon,² deal with the matter almost as mercilessly as modern writers. Consciously or not, we have come to feel a certain pride in our superiority over the Athenians in our administration of justice. In this we are unquestionably right and it is in no sense my desire to contend the opposite. It will, however, be illuminating to review some of the criticisms on our own jury system that are appearing in print from time to time, and to note how similar they are to those passed on the Athenian.

The defects in the Athenian system are directly traceable to the character of the popular courts.³ Given a jury of several hundred men, who feel themselves committees of a sovereign assembly; who are impaneled without examination as to attitude toward the litigants or the question at issue; who are not later subject to trial for their behavior or their decisions and are consequently irresponsible; who have no presiding judge whose duty it is to decide what is relevant or to instruct them as to the law according to which they should vote—given such a jury, the surprising thing is not that sometimes justice was hard to secure, but that it was apparently the rule rather than the exception.

At first thought there seems to be so little in common between such a body and our "buttress of liberty" that what is said in praise or criticism of one would in no way apply to the other. Let us see if this is the case.

¹ E.g., Wyse in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies* (3d ed.), p. 476; Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. ed.), p. 415.

² Xen. *Apology* 4; Plato *Laws* 767 C-E, 876 AB, *Gorgias* 515 E; Isocrates *Antidosis* 142; Aristophanes *Wasps*, *passim*. For fuller account, with references, see the author's *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 15-17.

³ *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 10 ff.

Criticism of the American system is chiefly devoted to the question of jury trial in civil cases,¹ a custom which some writers consider inadvised and impractical and others even unethical. I shall, in this paper, review only those criticisms of the American juries which offer obvious Athenian parallels.²

Writers are generally agreed on the subject of the personnel of the American jury. Due to a number of reasons, the average jury, they feel, is composed of individuals of mediocre ability and mentality, who regard it as no great inconvenience to devote their time to such service.³ Statistics seem to show that busy professional men and successful business men prefer to pay the fines imposed for refusal to serve rather than devote their time to jury duty.⁴ It is entirely probable that men engaged in professions which carry with them exemption from jury service, such as teaching, for example, avail themselves of this exemption not entirely because they are so devoted to their business, but because they as conservative and law-abiding citizens are entirely satisfied with a vicarious acquaintance with the courts. The consequence is that jury service has grown to be practically a profession with a type of otherwise unemployed or at least indifferently employed individuals.⁵

That jury service in Athens was regarded as a profession of the litigiously inclined is hardly a debatable question. Such an extravaganza as the *Wasps* is not our only source for such a conclusion. More sober statements of the same nature may be found in the orators and in Plato and Aristotle.⁶ The reason for this is not hard to find. The wealthy, non-litigious, conservative, aristocratically inclined Athenians avoided jury service so far as they could, just as they avoided litigation. The innumerable

¹ Some writers are also opposed to jury trials in criminal cases; see Greer in *American Law Review*, XLII, 195 ff.

² My summary of what is said against trial by jury in America is naturally rather sketchy. The writers quoted are: W. L. Scott, *American Law Review*, XX, 661 ff.; H. W. Greer, *ibid.*, XLII, 192 ff.; Percy Werner, *Ohio Law Bulletin*, LXIV, 351 f., and *Public*, XXII, 957 ff.; Ralph Bergengren, Samuel Stern, and Lawrence Irwell in a group of three articles in *Unpartisan Review*, XIII, 26, pp. 273 ff.

³ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 274, 289, 304, 307; *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 668.

⁴ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 288 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 300, 304.

⁶ For references, see *Syc. in Ath.*, p. 9 and notes.

cases, due to the litigation-loving populace and the development of the Athenian empire demanded jurors and someone must serve. The poorer element, then as now, was not averse to serving and the pay that was introduced by Pericles and later increased, probably by Cleon, made it possible for them to devote their time to this.¹ The popularity of the service was undoubtedly also due, to some extent at least, to the sense of importance that the power of the *ψηφός* gave the jurors and to the flattering respect paid them by the litigants.² Philocleon's eulogy on the jurors' "happy life," exaggerated though it be, gives us some idea of the extent to which litigants would go to curry favor,³ and the speeches of the orators are far from free of the same tendency.⁴ American jurors are also accused, by one writer at least, of letting themselves become filled with exaggerated self-importance due, in part, to the sycophantic flattery and adulation shown them by shrewd attorneys who think they know their men.⁵

Criticisms of people who depend on their fees as jurors for their livelihood are naturally bitter. Aristophanes' sallies against the Demus that tries a case or two and gets its three-obol⁶ are no more caustic than Isocrates' less sparkling description of those who "draw lots for their daily bread outside of the law courts, and live on their fees as jurors."⁷ The language used in describing the situation in America differs but little. "The inconvenience [of jury service] itself varies. It is real to some of us, and, to put it gently, not unlike a blessing in disguise to others. . . . The citizen to whom \$3.00 a day is a good wage is naturally more philosophical."⁸ Some of our American jurors have been known to hold out (in voting) until midnight for no other reason, as they later explained, than because they understood that if a verdict was not reached until after midnight, the jurors were entitled to an

¹ Plato *Gorgias* 515 E; Aristophanes *Knights* 51; Aristotle *Const. of Athens* 27.3.

² See *Syc. in Ath.*, pp. 9 with notes, 14.

³ Aristophanes *Wasps* 559-67, 578-82, 620-25.

⁴ See *Syc. in Ath.*, p. 14 with notes for references.

⁵ *Am. Law Rev.*, XLII, 195. This is said of state courts in particular.

⁶ *Knights* 51.

⁷ Isocrates vii. 54; viii. 130.

⁸ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 274.

additional day's pay.¹ The scathing jests of Aristophanes will cease to be open to the charge of exaggeration if we read him in the light of such remarks. One writer recalls the instance of the woman juror who was guilty of favoring postponement of the verdict until "after the dinner hour so that the jurors might have another meal at the expense of the county."² And the county allowed 40 cents for the dinner! Small reason for laughing at the Athenian's joy in his three-obol. Nor may we assume that this lady's suggestion was unique. The same writer tells us that "every person who has ever served upon a jury, understands that there are always men upon the panel who hold out until after they can secure a meal or two at public expense."³ If as a nation we are so inclined, it is but natural that the "professional juror is much in evidence."⁴ Jurors who are anxious to prolong their service in the interests of a 40-cent dinner are not always the most desirable. It seems undeniable that the compensation paid to jurors is adequate only to men of very moderate capacity, and it is consequently difficult to secure jurors really able to reach proper conclusions,⁵ since often the best men attempt to evade the duty (especially in the larger cities) and so leave on the panel "an undue projection of men of limited business experience, often of meager intelligence, who are totally unfit for the service."⁶ In similar, but more impersonal, fashion, Aristotle comments on the personnel of the jury in Athens after it had grown "democratic" under Pericles: "As a result of this pay for jury service, some critics charge that they became inferior in as much as the men of the street were much more anxious to be drawn for jury service than the better element."⁷ By "some critics" he probably refers to Plato who in the *Gorgias* comments on the "corrupting" of the Athenians due to the pay for jury service, and other state duties, by which they became "idle and cowardly and fond of talk and

¹ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 298 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁷ *Const. of Athens*, 27. 4.

money."¹ It will be observed that these criticisms of the Athenian and American juries start from different points of view. Athenian writers regret the fact that pay for service was introduced because it made it possible for the poor and idle and unambitious to sit as jurors. American critics feel that not enough pay is given to make it possible to get the ablest type of man on the jury. In both cases, however, the attitude toward the resultant nature of the juries is the same.

This eagerness of the otherwise unemployed Athenian to sit on the jury and the reluctance of the better element to have anything to do with the courts, naturally resulted in prejudiced jurors. It was difficult for such a body to regard a wealthy conservative's case without bias. Instances of unfair decision were doubtless much less numerous than the impressions created by the critics might at first lead us to believe and Isocrates was probably more epigrammatic than exact when he declared that wealth rather than crime made a man's life precarious.² But at any rate there must have been a real reason for the frequent efforts on the part of speakers to represent themselves as poor and their opponents as wealthy.³ On one occasion, the defendant, a man who was supposed to have come in for some property, frankly admits that he is at a disadvantage because money is "tight" and the state in need of funds.⁴ In America, corporations, as well as wealthy individuals, suffer from the prejudice of jurors. We are all more or less familiar with the general attitude toward railroads, for instance, and so are not at all surprised to read the statement that in one case at least the jurors chose to disregard the evidence and to vote against a railway company, "because it could afford to pay" the person who had brought action.⁵ On another occasion, a jury sitting on a condemnation case to decide the value of a piece of property wanted by the Great Northern Railway as right of way, listened to the values fixed by several witnesses who had been summoned and finally voted for a figure ten times the actual value of the

¹ 515 E.

² *Antidosis* 160.

³ For references see *Syc. in Athens*, p. 15.

⁴ *Lysias* 19. 11.

⁵ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 292.

property, although the witness who had placed that value frankly admitted, on cross examination, that his basis for fixing that value was "Jim Hill wants it."¹ Jim Hill might very well have quoted Isocrates and said: "Before a jury one must apologize for financial success."²

Wealth is not the only thing that stirs our jurors' prejudices. Racial antipathies figure strongly. This is evidenced by the fact that it is not unusual to question jurors when a foreigner is a litigant as to whether they have any prejudices against foreigners in general or against the particular nationality represented by either of the parties in litigation.³ One writer relates an incident that shows how strong these racial prejudices are. A member of the jury persisted in casting his vote against the defendant, a Greek, not because of the evidence against him, but because, as he said, "he had no use for Greeks; they were all dishonest and he had never employed one that he could trust"⁴—and this in spite of his oath to give defendant a fair trial. If such is the case in twentieth-century America there is small cause for wonder if non-Athenians found difficulty in getting fair treatment at law at Athens. Xenophon and the orators, as well as Aristophanes, contain some indication that the Athenian allies were at a disadvantage when forced to conduct their cases in Athens.⁵ Reports of this situation were probably exaggerated, then as now, but there seems to be no question that there is some basis for the charge. One of Antiphon's characters, a native of Mytilene, was subjected to treatment which he would probably not have suffered if he had been an Athenian.⁶

Prejudices less fundamental than those rising from racial differences also figure in our courts. It may not surprise us that a Christian Scientist should, when serving as juror, vote against a surgeon, who was on trial, "because she did not believe in doctors"

¹ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 297.

² *Antidosis* 160.

³ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁵ *Xen. Polity of the Athenians* i. 14 ff.; iii. 2; *Aristophanes Birds* 638 ff., 1422 ff.

⁶ *Antiphon v.* 16-17.

and thought he ought to pay the damages asked.¹ But it is a little surprising to hear that personal appearance has its effects on the jury. One woman juror is quoted as being extremely regretful that her dread of the other jurors' attitude kept her from giving her vote in favor of the plaintiff as she had wanted to because he was such "a good-looking man." This lady deserves almost as much fame as the two women jurors who agreed audibly in their hatred of the lawyer "with the moustache."² It is not recorded that the style of moustache was the cause of the bitter feeling, but it seems fair to assume that it was at least a contributory cause. This reminds us of the Athenian Nicobulus, who insists that the plaintiff's chief charge against him is that "Nicobulus is a 'hateful thing'" [as the ladies would say], walks fast, talks loud, and carries a cane," and of Apollodorus, who admitted that his appearance and manner of walking and talking were unfortunate and to his disadvantage.⁴ Until recently it had been our conviction that the Athenians were more sensitive than Americans ever could be to such details, but the coming of women into public life has added much of the finer feeling that was hitherto lacking. The lawyer with the moustache might very well plead as did Lysias' interesting and self-confident Mantitheus, that neatness of appearance and style of hairdress should not be considered in the courts.⁵ Mantitheus apparently belonged to the group of young Athenians who were accused of copying Spartan ideas and his long hair may have been as good an indication of pro-Spartanism as the *kaiserliche* moustache used to be of pro-Germanism, but in fairness to the lawyer we must note that nothing is said to indicate that his moustache was of that variety.

One of the most serious charges against the courts of Athens is that of inability or reluctance to judge a case on its own merits, without regard for extraneous matters.⁶ Athenian custom encouraged the introduction of personalities into the speeches of litigants.

¹ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 293.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

³ *ἐπιφθόρος* Dem. 37. 52.

⁴ Dem. 45. 77.

⁵ Lys. 16. 18-19.

⁶ Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 476; *Syc. in Ath.*, pp. 12 ff.

Speakers devoted considerable time to personal vilification of opponents and to eulogies of themselves and their families.¹ References to the patriotic record of the speaker and the "slacker" record of his opponent were especially common and we can now understand better than ever what the effect of such statements would be. Had there been any method of taking a juror to task for alleged unfair decision, it is probable that the oath that the jurors took, guaranteeing a fair trial, would have had more effect. As it was, the jurors were entirely irresponsible. Add to this the fact already alluded to, the lack of any judge, in our sense of the word, to rule on the question of what was relevant, and we have indeed a precarious situation. Not only critics of Athenian democracy but even the orators lament the fact that a case is too often decided by irrelevant matters.² In America the juror's task is even more complicated than was the Athenian's. The conclusions of an Athenian court were "bare affirmations or negations, not discriminating between law and fact, applicable only to a particular case, and based on reasons which were known only to the individual voters, and perhaps not always to them."³ The American juror must not only decide the disputed facts; he must decide them according to the law and the evidence.⁴ He must listen carefully to all the testimony and all the speeches of counsel. After that he must retire and sift all the testimony and come to his own conclusions as to the real bearing of what he has heard. This demands a clear comprehension of the points at issue. Only a mind experienced in the courts and trained in the delicate art of detecting what is extraneous can be expected to do this. Our system does, of course, seek to avoid this difficulty by providing that the judge instruct the jurors as to what the law is and what they are expected to consider. But it is the tendency of these instructions to become complicated and lengthy, and even when the juror is anxious to understand them, his mind, lacking technical training, fails to take them all in.⁵ Some critics,

¹ *Syc. in Ath.*, pp. 13 ff.

² *Xen. Apology* 4; *Plato Apology* 28 A; *Antiphon* 5. 11; *Dem.* 20. 166.

³ Whibley, *op. cit.* (3d ed.), p. 477.

⁴ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 290-92, 304, 305; *Public*, XXII, 957; *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 665 ff.

⁵ *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 666; *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 305; *Public* XXII, 958.

in fact, believe that the average juror neither heeds nor understands the instructions.¹ Even when technicalities and complicated arguments are not to blame and when judges give brief and explicit instructions to the jurors as to the matter for their consideration, our American juries are said to confuse the points at issue continually. As a concrete instance we are told of the case in which a man on trial for perjury was in danger of conviction, not because the charge had been proved, but because in the course of the case some transaction was mentioned in which the defendant was, in the opinion of half of the jury, guilty of attempting to defraud a creditor. Only the persistence of one of the jurors (a trained lawyer, by the way), who recognized the confusion of issues, gave the defendant acquittal.² Such instances are so common, according to men who have experience in these matters, that writers express themselves as opposed to a system which injects an uneducated and inexperienced body into the judicial system and expects such a body to apply legal principles to facts and in this way furnishes opportunity not only for appeal to the passions and prejudices, but also for introduction of extraneous matter.³

Sympathy for a litigant may be inevitable, but it should obviously not affect the decision of the jurors. Under the Athenian system it was practically impossible to prevent this. Personal appeals of all sorts were permitted and encouraged. To bring into the court members of the family to weep and wail and implore the jurors' pity was a custom so entrenched that refusal to do so was considered a defiance flung in the face of the jurors. It was likely to be construed as lack of respect for the majesty of the court.⁴ The American jury is also accused of succumbing to the effects of sympathy.⁵ Defendant's attorneys are inclined to plead with the jurors for pity for their clients and instances are mentioned in which pity alone will explain the verdict. In support of this point one writer tells the story of the man who brought a suit for damages

¹ *Public*, XXII, 957; *Am. Law Rev.*, XLII, 195.

² *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 289.

³ *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 663.

⁴ *Plato Apology* 34 C ff.

⁵ *Public*, XXII, 958; *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 677; XLII, 195 ff.

against a traction company. He claimed to have been injured while walking on its right of way and that as a result of this injury he had a broken spine. He appeared in court greatly emaciated and wore a steel collar to support his head. Physicians testified that he could not live six months. Obviously, if he was to receive any verdict at all it should have been a very large one; what he did receive was \$3,000.¹ This is explained by the fact that the jurors were not convinced that the accident occurred as the plaintiff claimed, but were sorry for the invalid. In personal-injury cases it has become quite usual for the jurors, when not fully convinced by testimony, to allow their sympathy to dictate the verdict and then to salve their consciences by imposing merely nominal fines.²

Sympathy for widows and orphans is especially natural and possibly common. It is not surprising to find that the jurors who felt that the railway company "could afford to pay" were sitting on a case in which the plaintiff was a widow. There seems to have been no serious consideration of whether the company was justly compelled to do so.³ Sympathy for orphans was proverbial of the Athenian jurors. In the words of the speaker in the case vs. Nausimachus: "They were orphans and young and their characters were unknown, things that with you, as everyone says, have much more force than many great and just deeds."⁴

Bodies whose prejudices and sympathies are so easily aroused are naturally at the mercy of clever and eloquent speakers. Appeals that affect these prejudices and sympathies have more weight than facts. This situation gave the pettifogger (*συκοφάντης*) in Athens an unfortunate advantage.⁵ His familiarity with the courts taught him how to work upon his audience, and his lack of scruples supplied him with the courage to do so. One need not be a specialist in Athenian law to recall what an important rôle these pettifoggers played in Athens. The wealthy, the "gentlemen who avoided litigation," prominent statesmen, islanders from every part of the empire, all feared their attacks. It is hardly necessary to go into

¹ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, p. 293.

² *Ibid.*, p. 294.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁴ *Dem.* 38. 20.

⁵ *Syc. in Athens*, pp. 9, 17, *et passim*.

details and this is not the place to do so, but it is an indisputable fact that the character of the popular courts was largely responsible for their success and increase. It may perhaps be surprising to hear that American juries are regarded by many writers as responsible, to a great extent, for the success of our modern sycophant. We are reminded of the "efforts of learned counsel to work upon their prejudices, to enlist their sympathies and to win their verdict." Actual instances are in fact offered of trials in which prosecuting attorneys, in their zeal for securing conviction, succeed in convincing the minds of the jury by their appeals, in spite of the fact that there is entire lack of evidence. Writers urge discontinuance of the jury system because it "encourages pettifoggers and shyster-ing" and "degrades the legal profession by affording greater opportunity for the pettifogging lawyer."¹

In addition to the above-mentioned disadvantages of our American system, some writers call attention to the waste of time and money incurred in impaneling a jury, and even in the use of a jury at all,² and to the undesirable publicity given to private matters with which the public has no concern. One writer goes so far as to brand a system as unethical "that drags private differences before the public and asks a section of the public to retire into the privacy of a jury room and in secret session decide such differences and make up a public record for all time of such differences."³

To remedy these evils in our administration of justice some of the critics suggest that cases be tried before judges alone. By virtue of their training, their practical experiences on the bench, their habit of mind, they are better qualified to decide a case on its merits, to ignore appeals to their prejudices and sympathy, to observe illogical and untenable arguments, and to consider the value of testimony and the demeanor of witnesses when on the stand.⁴ This solution is remarkably like a method of trial that existed in Athens and which we ignore far too much—trial before

¹ *Public*, XXII, 959; *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 677; *ibid.*, XLII, 195, 197; *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 299, 307.

² *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, pp. 277, 300, 306; *Public*, XXII, 959; *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 676 f.

³ *Public*, XXII, 958.

⁴ *Am. Law Rev.*, XX, 669, 676; *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, 301, 305 f.

public arbitrators. Discussion of this will involve a few words about the "court of the Forty."¹ These men were originally circuit judges, who traveled over the demes and gave judgment. Later they apparently sat at Athens. Before them came the bulk of private suits, especially those about property rights. Each case was tried before the four of the Forty who belonged to the defendant's tribe. If the dispute involved sums not over ten drachmae their decisions were final. They were, it is to be noted, both jury and judge. Suits involving sums over ten drachmae they brought before a public arbitrator. Service as public arbitrator was required of all male citizens in their sixtieth year, who spent the last year of their state service in this way. The first duty of the arbitrator was to attempt to bring about a compromise. If this could not be done, he gave his decision, on a fixed day, after due hearing of the arguments and evidence. Appeals from this decision might be made to the regular courts. In the words of Wyse: "The intention was to procure the settlement of private suits by experienced and impartial men, whose first aim was to make peace. . . . In a large number of suits the constitution did not compel two quiet citizens to face the ordeal of a trial in court, but provided a cheap and simple means of getting justice."² The recognized advantages of this are practically those which are now claimed for trial by experienced judges: removal of all forms of personal appeals, avoidance of publicity, elevation of the legal profession, impartiality, speed, and economy.

Undoubtedly many cases that came before arbitrators were appealed to the courts. Even quiet and retiring individuals who felt that the decision of the arbitrator was wrong would face the ordeal of public trial in the interest of their rights, and certainly litigious individuals would do so in the hope of being able to reverse the arbitrator's decision by the form of influence that they knew was successful with the larger and more susceptible body. In America it is, of course, also possible for the parties to waive trial

¹ For fuller statement see Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. ed.), p. 377; Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

² Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 473. This is not the place to discuss the jurisdiction of the Athenian arbitrators. The reader will find a full discussion of that phase of the question, with bibliography, by Bonner, *Classical Philology*, II, 407.

by jury and content themselves with the decision of the judge. This, however, seems to be somewhat unusual and we are told that it is with us, as it was with the Athenian, the man who has a weak case who wants a jury.¹ The reasons are obvious.

This incomplete review of the "case against trial by jury" shows:

1. That juries, both in the Athens of Demosthenes and in the America of today, tend to be composed of individuals who are well satisfied with their fees and importance, but who are, by neither ability nor training, suited to the complicated task before them.

2. That injustice is often due to the susceptibility of these jurors to situations and appeals that affect their sympathy, prejudices, passion, and chauvinistic patriotism, and also to their inability to distinguish between what is and what is not relevant to the matter in hand.

3. That this situation gives encouragement to the unscrupulous *συκοφάντης* or pettifogger.

4. That for civil cases, at least, a system of trial is desirable which offers economy, speed, and impartiality, removes opportunity for appeals to prejudices, discourages shystering, and makes it unnecessary to air private affairs in public.

5. That trial before public arbitrators, in Athens, had in it most of the advantages urged for trial before judges without jury here in America.

¹ *Unpart. Rev.*, XIII, 26, 301.

THE CLASSICAL SURVEY

SECTION A

The report, a revised form of which is here published, was first submitted to the Advisory Committee and the chairmen of the Regional Committees of the American Classical League at a meeting held in Philadelphia on July 6, 1921. After extended consideration of suggestions presented at this meeting, the Special Investigating Committee met in Princeton, New Jersey, for the three days, July 18-20, and passed on all suggestions which it had been authorized to consider, whether made at the Philadelphia meeting or subsequently in written communications. A Revised Preliminary Report was the result. Sections A and B are printed in full, with a small part of Section C, to indicate the main lines of the investigation of the teaching of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools of the United States which is being undertaken by the American Classical League and financed by the General Education Board. The Special Investigating Committee consists of W. L. Carr, Mason D. Gray, and Andrew F. West, Chairman.

The Advisory Committee consists of:

M. Julia Bentley, Hughes High School, Cincinnati, Ohio
A. L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
W. L. Carr, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Mason D. Gray, East High School, Rochester, N. Y.
Richard M. Gummere, Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gonzalez Lodge, Columbia University, New York City
W. V. McDuffee, Central High School, Springfield, Mass.
Frank J. Miller, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Henry Pennypacker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Frances E. Sabin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Julius Sachs, New York City
Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

William R. Webb, The Webb School, Bellbuckle, Tenn.

Andrew F. West, Chairman, Princeton University, Princeton,

N. J.

The Chairmen of the Regional Committees are:

W. J. Battle, University of Texas, Austin, Texas

Lillian Gay Berry, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

E. Bogart, Morris High School, New York City

M. G. Durham, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

R. G. Peoples, Battle Ground Academy, Franklin, Tenn.

Alfred E. Stearns, Phillips-Andover Academy, Andover, Mass.

B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Purpose and Scope of the Investigation

The purpose of the investigation, as defined in the original plan, is to prepare a constructive program of recommendations for improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools of the United States. Improvement in the teaching of Latin and Greek may be defined as a better and more effective adjustment of means to the ends proposed. This involves, first, an investigation into the present status of Latin and Greek, including a study of the actual objectives aimed at in current practice, the extent to which these objectives are attained or attainable, the means commonly employed and the means most effectively employed in attaining them; and, secondly, a constructive program involving the determination of the most important objectives, and the means to be recommended as most effective in attaining them as to (a) content of courses, (b) methods of teaching, (c) qualifications and training of teachers.

While the investigation is concerned with both Latin and Greek, this preliminary report deals only with Latin. Most of the studies and measurements proposed, depending as they do on the existence of a large and widely-distributed body of pupils, preclude the application of the method as a whole to the study of Greek. In many cases the results reached and recommendations made will be applicable to Greek. In some cases, however, separate studies dealing with problems peculiar to Greek will doubtless be found desirable.

It will not be necessary to wait until the analysis of all teaching objectives of Latin has been completed before a beginning is made in the testing of results and in the investigation of methods. Certain objectives are so commonly accepted as to justify an immediate attack upon the problems which they involve. Furthermore, the analysis of the actual teaching objectives will be a developing one, as the survey broadens to include the entire country, and will probably not reach its final form until the investigation itself has made considerable progress.

Section B of this outline comprises a tentative list of the teaching objectives in Latin, as disclosed by an examination of the literature of the subject, and represents the judgment of a very considerable body of Latin teachers. It is being constantly revised and augmented by the suggestions and criticisms received from teachers to whom this outline has been submitted, and this process of revision will continue. Every Latin teacher who reads this outline is earnestly invited to examine the list and to make any additions or offer any criticisms which his own theory and practice suggest.

It will be necessary at the outset to call attention to the important distinction between ultimate and immediate objectives in the teaching of Latin. By ultimate objectives are meant those which involve educational values upon which the justification of Latin must in the last analysis depend, namely those abilities which continue to function after the formal study of Latin has ceased; for example, the ability to determine the meaning of an unfamiliar English word derived from Latin. By immediate objectives are meant those indispensable practical daily aims in which progressive achievement is necessary for the attainment of the ultimate objectives, but which may cease to function after the formal study of Latin has ceased; for example, the ability to conjugate a Latin verb.

It is essential that this investigation embrace both types of objectives. In this report, unless the contrary is specified, it may be assumed that the objective under discussion is regarded as an ultimate objective, capable of functioning outside the Latin class and subsequent to formal study of the language.

Section C of this report analyzes the objectives at present under consideration, and outlines in tentative form the studies, inquiries and tests deemed requisite for the drawing of definite conclusions with regard to each objective.

In general the committee proposes to raise the following four questions regarding each objective:

- a. For what Latin pupils and for what proportion of Latin pupils is this objective legitimate?
- b. Is this objective actually being attained today and to what extent?¹
- c. What content and methods are commonly used to attain this objective and what content and methods seem to be most effective in attaining it?
- d. What constructive measures should be taken in reorganizing content and methods to insure a fuller attainment of the objective?

With this intensive survey there will need to be closely associated, at least during the second year of the investigation, a number of extensive surveys on phases of the work in which information is necessary for the formation of a comprehensive constructive program:

- I. General administrative questions.
 1. Enrollment of Latin pupils and distribution by grades.
 2. Extent to which the study of a foreign language is required and the extent to which Latin, French, German or Spanish is specifically required.
 3. Administrative policies regarding Latin and the relation of these policies to the status of Latin.
 4. Analysis of college entrance requirements in their effect upon the content and methods of the Latin course in the secondary school.
- II. An analysis of the various types of courses and their present extent, character, content, and efficiency.
 1. The common four-year course.
 2. The junior high school.
 3. The "six-six" plan.
 4. The classical high school.
 5. Vocational Latin courses.
 6. Differentiated curricula.
- III. A survey of certain external features of Latin teaching.
 1. Amount of equipment and illustrative material, charts, etc., available, and the extent of the use of such material.

¹ Even if consistently negative results are obtained in measuring any particular objective, it will not necessarily follow that this objective should be regarded as unattainable. The final stage in the study of any doubtful objective should involve controlled experiments in classes where there could be established conditions believed to be requisite for the attainment of the particular objective and capable of general application, and where results could be carefully measured on the basis of these conditions.

2. Extent, character and results of extra-class activities, such as Latin clubs, games, dramatics, scrap-book work, etc.
- IV. The present preparation of teachers.
 1. An analysis of present minimum requirements by states.
 2. Actual qualifications with reference to general academic training and special professional training.
 3. Teachers' training courses.
 - (a) In colleges.
 - (b) In normal schools.
 - (c) Through other agencies.
- V. A study of the recent movements in Great Britain, France, and Germany toward the solution of problems similar to those disclosed in the progress of this investigation.

It will be clear from this report that to carry out within the next two years any considerable part of the investigations and experiments suggested will involve the systematic and comprehensive organization of all resources for research throughout the country which are available for this purpose.

There are, in the first place, many individual teachers of Latin who are already carrying on studies and experiments connected with some of the topics outlined below. It is obviously the part of wisdom and economy for the committee to encourage all these activities and co-ordinate them into one general movement.

Furthermore, the graduate departments of Latin and education in colleges and universities may reasonably be invited to participate in the studies which are planned. Many of the problems listed afford abundant opportunity for valuable special studies. Graduate students can doubtless be found trained in the technique of this type of research, who will agree to make some of these topics their major problems during the next two years.

It is quite possible that with all the assistance available the completion of the entire program outlined below may prove to be impracticable within the next two years. It has seemed wise, however, to make this preliminary survey exhaustive, in order that the choice of topics to be investigated may be made more intelligently and their relation to the entire problem may be kept clear.

As stated above, the primary purpose of this investigation is improvement in the teaching of the classics. The determination

of the place and value of Latin in the whole educational scheme presents another and more fundamental problem, the investigation of which is earnestly to be desired. Although the present investigation does not include within its scope this more fundamental problem, it will, nevertheless, furnish valuable material which may contribute to its solution. For the consideration of this latter problem, there could be no more valuable or pertinent body of information than the exact facts as to the extent to which many of the values ascribed to or claimed for Latin are actually attained and by what proportion of the Latin pupils.

There are, moreover, various phases of the present program which touch the larger problem so closely as to warrant extension into this field, or at any rate warrant an indication of the steps necessary to make the results of this investigation available in its solution.

One of these points of contact is the comparison of Latin pupils with non-Latin pupils in their attainment of any particular educational objective, and another is concerned with economy of time. It is the intention of the committee to investigate the first of these questions wherever conditions permit the direct comparison of Latin pupils with non-Latin pupils in general, and with those non-Latin pupils in particular whose programs differs from those of the Latin pupils only in the substitution of one specific subject in the place of Latin.

The question of economy of time is more difficult. As the problem is frequently stated it obviously makes so unreasonable a demand on the Latin as to be unworthy of serious consideration. Thus, in the case of a particular objective, such as the development of English vocabulary through the study of Latin derivatives, it is sometimes urged that the same results could be secured in less time from a course in English etymology. But obviously this assumes that growth in English vocabulary through the study of derivatives is the *only* value to be secured from the study of Latin. If such a comparative study is to be made, the time fairly chargeable to this one objective in the Latin class should comprise simply the time spent in making the actual applications to English, plus a certain amount of general "over-

head." How much of this general "overhead" is chargeable to any one of the objectives listed in Section B is a difficult problem. It may prove ultimately capable of solution and in that case comparative tests are possible. The only complete test would require the organization of a parallel course which should attempt to attain all the objectives of Latin without the study of Latin. If, however, it is found possible in the case of any particular objective to measure the time factors indicated above and thus create a basis for an actual study of the question of economy, the committee would regard it as a very pertinent part of the present investigation.

It may be further stated that, whenever a given objective is clearly shown to be attained by a considerable proportion of the Latin pupils, it would seem pertinent to make further inquiry to determine for what proportion of all secondary school pupils Latin would, on that basis, be a legitimate object of study.

SECTION B

List of Objectives

This section contains for convenient reference a tentative list of the teaching objectives, which in Section C are to be examined in detail with reference to the tests and inquiries to which they are to be subjected.

It has not seemed desirable to attempt a rigid classification of these objectives. Objectives 1-3 involve the direct instrumental uses of Latin as a language; objectives 4-13 have to do with the application to English and other subjects of the facts learned in Latin; objectives 14-23 involve cultural values; and objectives 24-26 have to do with the spread of improved efficiency and other disciplinary values.

1. The ability to read Latin after the formal study of the language has ceased, whether for instrumental use in other studies or for personal enjoyment.

Note: This objective, obviously limited to a comparatively few individuals, is of paramount importance to those whose professional needs or personal tastes call for the use of this ability. This ultimate objective, however, is not to be confused with the more immediate teaching objective, namely a progressive development of power to use the language, on the attainment of which most of the indirect as well as the direct objectives of the study of Latin depend.

2. The ability to understand Latin quotations, proverbs, and mottoes occurring in English literature of the past and present, and Latin inscriptions appearing on buildings, memorial tablets, seals, coins, etc.

3. Increased ability to understand Latin words, phrases, and abbreviations found in books and current publications, and increased ability to use such expressions correctly.

4. Increased ability to understand and use less familiar English words derived directly or indirectly from Latin.

5. Increased ability to understand the exact meaning of fairly familiar English words derived directly or indirectly from Latin and increased accuracy in their use.

6. Increased ability to read English with correct understanding.

7. Increased development of the power of thinking and expressing thought through the process of translating from Latin into adequate English.

Note: This involves an increase in the extent of English vocabulary, increased facility and exactness in the use of words, and increased power of discrimination. Furthermore since language is a tool not only for the expression of thought but also for thinking, itself, and since therefore the development of power over one's own language assists in the thinking process, translation from Latin into English may be regarded as of especial value in developing the ability to think inasmuch as the character of the Latin language as contrasted with English prevents a merely mechanical interchange of verbal symbols.

8. Increased ability to spell English words of Latin derivation.

9. Increased ability to understand and to use correctly Latin plurals which have been carried over into English.

10. Increased knowledge of the principles of English grammar, and an increased ability to speak and write English correctly.

11. Increased ability to master the technical and semi-technical terms of Latin origin employed in other school subjects, and in the professions and vocations.

12. Increased ability to master the vocabulary, syntax, and inflections of the Romance languages.

13. Increased ability to master the syntax and inflections of Germanic and other Indo-European languages.

14. An increased knowledge of the facts relating to the life, history, mythology and religion of the Romans, and of the influence of their civilization on the course of Western civilization.

15. An extension of the pupil's intellectual horizon and a broadening of his sympathies by a direct contact through the study of their language with the mind of a people remote in time and place.

16. The development of ideals of patriotism, courage, honor and devotion to duty through a familiarity with the stories of Roman history.

17. A first-hand acquaintance through the study of their writings with some of the chief personal characteristics of the authors read.

18. The development of an appreciation of the literary qualities of Latin authors read, both directly through the Latin itself and indirectly through the process of translating into adequate English; and consequently the development of a general capacity for such an appreciation.

19. An elementary knowledge of the general principles of linguistic structure as exhibited in the Indo-European languages.

20. Some understanding of significant phases of human history as illustrated by the development of the forms and meanings of words and of their relation in sentences.

21. A greater appreciation of the elements of literary style employed in English prose and poetry.

22. Improvement in the quality of the literary taste and style of the pupil's written English.

23. Increased ability to understand and appreciate references and allusions in English literature and current publications to the mythology, traditions, and history of the Greeks and Romans.

24. The development of certain mental traits, habits and ideals which are subject to spread.

Note: Among these mental traits are standards of achievement, of sustained attention, of accuracy, of orderly procedure, of thoroughness, and certain general attitudes such as the tendency to neglect distracting and irrelevant elements dissatisfaction with failure or with partial success.

25. Increased capacity for abstract reasoning whether applied to the subject itself, to other subjects in the curriculum, or to situations in every day life.

26. Increased efficiency in the pupil's response to problems which make demands upon his general intelligence.

It is obvious that the objectives listed above vary greatly in importance. It has seemed desirable, however, to include in the list all the objectives commonly recognized, with a view to the ultimate determination of their relative importance by means of the studies and measurements to be applied to them as described in Section C.

SECTION C

The Measurement of Objectives

In this Section the various objectives listed above are examined with reference to the tests to which they may be subjected, and studies and inquiries are suggested for each objective in turn. Many of these topics will doubtless need to be subdivided and still further elaborated, as the investigation proceeds. The following analyses of Objectives 3 and 10 are here given by way of illustration of the methods proposed:

Objective 3: Increased ability to understand Latin words, phrases and abbreviations found in books and current publications, and increased ability to use such expressions correctly.

- A. What Latin pupils and what proportion of pupils will have occasion to use their knowledge of Latin for this purpose?

A study to determine the extent to which these Latin expressions occur in books, magazines, newspapers, etc.

- B. What proportion of the pupils studying Latin attain this objective and to what extent?

(1) A test of the ability of Latin pupils to understand these expressions.

(2) A series of comparative tests to measure the relative growth in the ability made by Latin and non-Latin pupils of the same initial ability.

- C. What content and methods seem to have been most effective in attaining this objective?

Information should be secured from teachers in the schools in which tests are run in regard to the use made of material of this sort in connection with the Latin work.

D. What constructive measures should be taken to secure better results?**A study involving:**

- (1) A collection of these expressions.
- (2) An analysis of the vocabulary, syntax, and inflections employed.
- (3) An organization of this material in convenient form for use in teaching.
- (4) A description of methods which have proved most effective in the use of such material.

Objective 4: Increased ability to understand and use less familiar English words derived directly or indirectly from Latin.

It will be noted that both active and passive English vocabulary is included in this objective and that different types of tests will be required to measure results.

A. For what Latin pupils and for what proportion of Latin pupils is this a legitimate objective?

- (1) A study to determine what proportion of unfamiliar words met by pupils after entering high school is of Latin origin.
- (2) An inquiry as to what Latin pupils and what proportion of Latin pupils will have occasion to understand or use these words.

B. What proportion of the pupils studying Latin realize this objective and to what extent?

- (1) An investigation involving a series of English vocabulary tests for each year of the secondary school given to Latin and non-Latin pupils in widely separated sections of the country and in different social environments.
- (2) A series of carefully worked out experiments and measurements in parallel classes (in sets of four) containing pupils of approximately equal initial ability; as follows:
 - (a) A class of pupils in beginning Latin in which no effort is made to teach derivatives.
 - (b) A class of pupils in beginning Latin in which definite derivative study is given regularly.
 - (c) A class of non-Latin pupils in which regular work in English etymology is given.
 - (d) A class of non-Latin pupils in which no work in English etymology is given.
- (3) Since conditions would rarely be favorable for the ideal experiment outlined above, there should be a series of supplementary tests in which the difference in initial ability between the pupils in parallel Latin and non-Latin classes is first measured by general intelligence tests or special vocabulary tests, or both. Periodic tests similar to those described above will then permit the difference in the rate of progress to be measured. Allowance will need to be made for the probability that pupils of higher intelligence or possessing wider vocabularies at the beginning

will by sheer momentum increase their lead somewhat. This gain can be measured by including in the tests an equal number of words derived from non-Latin sources. Difference in the rate of gain in such words will measure the effect of initial superiority and permit its elimination from the result. It is possible that the extensive selection of pairs of pupils of equal ability may in large measure meet the conditions set for the ideal experiment described above

- (4) Investigations analogous to those just described but concerned with *active* vocabulary, e.g., a test to measure the ability of Latin pupils to discriminate in the choice of words which best fit into the sense of test sentences.
- C. What content and methods seem to have been most effective in attaining this objective?
- Information should be secured from teachers to enable the investigators to determine:
- a. Whether the results shown in the tests have accrued automatically; if not,
 - b. To what extent the study of derivatives has been a regular part of the work; and
 - c. What manuals, word lists, etc., have been used.
 - d. What teaching devices have been employed; for example, an inquiry to determine the importance of the study of already familiar derivatives in creating the habit of associating related Latin and English words and in providing the mental stimulus arising from unexpected discoveries regarding the meanings of common English words.
- D. What constructive measures as to content, method, and preparation of teachers should be taken to improve results?
- (1) Content of vocabulary: An investigation which shall determine in order of importance the 500 or 1,000 or 1,500 Latin words the potential capacity of which to explain the English language is greatest. This will provide *one* of the ingredients which should receive consideration in determining the vocabulary of secondary Latin. The relative importance attaching to this element in the construction of text books will vary according to the nature of the constituency served. It should be the function of this investigation to provide exact information (now entirely lacking), not to determine its relative value.
 - (2) Method of teaching: Obviously all constructive suggestions will be a product of the investigations discussed above and cannot be anticipated. They will naturally involve such questions as:
 - (a) Is regular work in derivatives necessary?
 - (b) If so, how much time should be given to such work?
 - (c) What class-room methods produce the most satisfactory results?

VALUE OF THE CLASSICS

BY CALVIN COOLIDGE,
Vice-President of the United States

We come here today in defense of some of the great realities of life. We come to continue the guarantee of progress in the future by continuing a knowledge of progress in the past. We come to proclaim our allegiance to those ideals which have made the predominant civilization of the earth. We come because we believe that thought is the master of things. We come because we realize that the only road to freedom lies through a knowledge of the truth.

Mankind have always had classics. They always will. That is only another way of saying they have always set up ideals and always will. Always the question has been, always the question will be, what are those ideals to be, what are to be the classics? For many centuries, in education, the classics have meant Greek and Latin literature. It does not need much argument to demonstrate that in the western world society can have little liberal culture which is not based on these. Without them there could be no interpretation of language and literature, no adequate comprehension of history, no understanding of the foundations of philosophy and law. In fact, the natural sciences are so much the product of those trained in the classics that, without such training, their very terminology cannot be fully understood.

Education is undertaken to give a larger comprehension of life. In the last fifty years its scope has been very much broadened. It is scarcely possible to consider it in the light of the individual. It is easy to see that it must be discussed in the light of society. The question for consideration is not what shall be taught to a few individuals. Nor can it be determined by the example of the accomplishments of a few individuals. There have been great men with little of what we call education. There have

¹ An address before the American Classical League, Philadelphia, July 6, 1921.

been small men with a great deal of learning. There has never been a great people who did not possess great learning. The whole question at issue is, what does the public welfare require for the purpose of education. What are the fundamental things that young Americans should be taught. What is necessary for society to come to a larger comprehension of life?

The present age has been marked by science and commercialism. In its primary purpose it reveals mankind undertaking to overcome their physical limitations. This is being accomplished by wonderful discoveries which have given the race dominion over new powers. The chief demand of all the world has seemed to be for new increases in these directions. There has been a great impatience with everything which did not appear to minister to this requirement.

This has resulted in the establishment of technical schools and in general provisions for vocational education. There has been a theory that all learning ought to be at once translated into scientific and commercial activities. Of course the world today is absolutely dependent on science and on commerce. Without them great areas would be depopulated by famine and pestilence almost in a day. With them there is a general diffusion of comfort and prosperity, not only unexcelled, but continually increasing. These advantages, these very necessities, are not only not to be denied, but acknowledged and given the highest commendation. All this is not absolute but relative. It is neither self-sufficient nor self-existing. It represents the physical side of life. It is the product of centuries of an earlier culture, a culture which was none the less real because it supposed the earth was flat, a culture which was pre-eminent in the development of the moral and spiritual forces of life.

The age of science and commercialism is here. There is no sound reason for wishing it otherwise. The wise desire is not to destroy it, but to use it and direct it rather than to be used and directed by it, that it may be as it should be, not the master but the servant, that the physical forces may not prevail over the moral forces and that the rule of life may not be expediency but righteousness.

No question can be adequately comprehended without knowing its historical background. Modern civilization dates from Greece and Rome. The world was not new in their day. They were the inheritors of a civilization which had gone before, but what they had inherited they recast, enlarged and intensified and made their own, so that their culture took on a distinctive form, embracing all that the past held best in the Roman world of the Caesars. That great Empire fell a prey, first to itself and then to the barbarians. After this seeming catastrophe scholarship and culture almost disappeared for nearly a thousand years, finally to emerge again in the revival of learning. This came almost entirely out of the influence of the Christian church. The revival of learning was the revival of the learning of Greece and Rome plus the teachings of revealed religion. Out of that revival has grown the culture of Western Europe and America. It is important to keep foundations clearly in mind. The superstructure is entirely dependent upon them for support whatever may be its excellence. However worthy a place it may fill, it cannot stand except on a sound foundation. In the revival of learning the philosophy of Greece played an important part. It was under its stimulus that the two methods of induction and deduction, experiment and reason by which the human mind gains knowledge, were firmly established. This swept away the vain imaginings of the schoolmen, gave a new freedom to thought and laid the beginnings of modern scientific research. It has brought about the modern era of learning which is reflected in every avenue of human life. It is in business. It is in education. It is in religion. No one questions its power. No one questions its desirability, but it is not all sufficient.

It is impossible for society to break with its past. It is the product of all which has gone before. We could not cut ourselves off from all influences which existed prior to the Declaration of Independence and expect any success by undertaking to ignore all that happened before that date. The development of society is a gradual accomplishment. Culture is the product of a continuing effort. The education of the race is never accomplished. It must be gone over with each individual and it must continue from

the beginning to the ending of life. Society cannot say it has attained culture and can therefore rest from its labors. All that it can say is that it has learned the method and process by which culture is secured and go on applying such method and process.

Biology teaches us that the individual goes through the various stages of evolution which have brought him to his present state of perfection. All theories of education teach us that the mind develops in the same way, rising through the various stages that have marked the ascent of mankind from the lowest savagery to the highest civilization. This principle is a compelling reason for the continuance of classics as the foundation of our educational system. It was by the use of this method that we reached our present state of development.

This does not mean that every person must be a classical scholar. It is not necessary for everyone who crosses the ocean to be an experienced mariner, nor for everyone who works on a building to be a learned architect, but if the foreign shore is to be reached in safety, if the building is to take on a form of utility and beauty, it will be because of direction and instruction given according to established principles and ideals. The principles and ideals on which we must depend not only for a continuance of modern culture, but, I believe, for a continuance of the development of science itself come to us from the classics. All this is the reason that the sciences and the professions reach their highest development as the supplement of a classical education.

Perhaps the chief criticism of education and its resulting effect upon the community today is superficiality. A generation ago the business-man who had made a success without the advantages of a liberal education sent his son to the University where he took a course in Greek and Latin. On his return home, because he could not immediately take his father's place in the conduct of the business, the conclusion was drawn that his education had been a failure. In order to judge the correctness of this conclusion it would be necessary to know whether the young man had really been educated or whether he had gone through certain prescribed courses in the first place, and in the second place whether he finally developed executive ability. It cannot be denied that a superficial

knowledge of the classics is only a superficial knowledge. There can not be expected to be derived from it the ability to think correctly which is the characteristic of a disciplined mind. Without doubt a superficial study of the classics is of less value than a superficial acquaintance with some of the sciences or a superficial business course. One of the advantages of the classics as a course of training is that in modern institutions there is little chance of going through them in a superficial way. Another of their advantages is that the master of them lives in something more than the present and thinks of something more than the external problems of the hour, and after all it was the study of the classics that produced the glories of the Elizabethan age with its poets, its philosophers, its artists, its explorers, its soldiers, its statesmen, and its churchmen.

Education is primarily a means of establishing ideals. Its first great duty is the formation of character, which is the result of heredity and training. This by no means excludes the desirability of an education in the utilities, but is a statement of what education must include if it meet with any success. It is not only because the classical method has been followed in our evolution of culture, but because the study of Greek and Latin is unsurpassed as a method of discipline. Their mastery requires an effort and an application which must be both intense and prolonged. They bring into action all the faculties of observation, understanding and reason. To become proficient in them is to become possessed of self control and of intelligence, which are the foundations of all character.

We often hear Greek and Latin referred to as dead languages. There are some languages which may have entirely expired, but I do not think any such have yet been discovered. There are words and forms in all languages which are dead because no longer used. There are many such in our own language. But Greek and Latin are not dead. The Romance languages are a modified Latin, and our own language is filled with words derived from Greek and Latin which have every living attribute. This is so true that to a certain extent there can be no adequate comprehension of the meaning of a large part of the language employed in every day

use, and the language of science and scholarship almost in its entirety, without a knowledge of Greek and Latin. Our literature is so filled with classical allusions that an understanding of its beauties can scarcely be secured by any other means.

The most pressing requirement of the present hour is not how we are to solve our economic problems, but: Where are we to find the sustaining influences for the realities of life? How are we to justify the existing form of government in our Republic? Where shall we resort for teachings in patriotism? On what can we rely for a continuation of that service of sacrifice which has made modern civilization possible? The progress of the present era gives no new answers to these problems. There are no examples of heroism which outrival Leonidas at Thermopylae, or Horatius at the Bridge. The literature of Greece and Rome is through and through an inspiring plea for patriotism, from the meditations of their philosophers to the orations of their statesmen and the despatches of their soldiers.

The world has recently awakened to the value and the righteousness of democracy. This ideal is not new. It has been the vision which the people of many nations have followed through centuries. Because men knew that that ideal had been partially realized in Greece and Rome, they have had faith that it would be fully realized in Europe and America. The beginnings of modern democracy were in Athens and Sparta. That form of human relationship can neither be explained nor defended, except by reference to these examples, and a restatement of the principles on which their government rested. Both of these nations speak to us eloquently of the progress they made so long as their citizens held to these ideals, and they admonish us with an eloquence even more convincing of the decay and ruin which comes to any people when it falls away from these ideals. There is no surer road to destruction than prosperity without character.

There is little need to mention the debt which modern literature owes to the great examples of Greece and Rome. Even the New Testament was written in Greek. It is unthinkable that any institution founded for the purpose of teaching literature should neglect the classics. Nowhere have the niceties of thought been better expressed than in their prose. Nowhere have music and

reason been more harmoniously combined than in their poetry, and nowhere is there greater eloquence than in their orations. We look to them not merely as the writers and speakers of great thoughts, but as the doers of greater deeds. There is a glory in the achievements of the Greeks under Themistocles, there is an admiration for the heroes of Salamis, there is even a pride in the successful retreat of the Ten Thousand which the humiliating days of Philip and Alexander cannot take away.

But when we turn to Rome we are overwhelmed by its greatness. When we recall the difficulties of the transportation of that day, which made the defense easy and attack difficult, her achievement, not only in conquering all that there was of the then civilized western world, but in holding it in subjection with a reign of law so absolute that the world has never known a peace so secure as that of the *Pax Romanum*, strikes us with wonder. They gave to the world the first great example of order, and a tolerable state of liberty under the law. As we study their history, there is revealed to us one of the greatest peoples, under the guidance of great leaders, exhausting themselves in their efforts that the civilized world might be unified and the stage set for the entrance of Christianity. In their conquests, we see one of the most stupendous services, and in their disintegration one of the most gigantic tragedies which ever befell a great people.

Everyone knows that the culture of Greece and Rome is gone. They could not be restored, they could not be successfully imitated. What those who advocate their continued study desire to bring about is the endurance of that modern culture which has been the result of a familiarity with the classics of these two great peoples. We do not wish to be Greek, we do not wish to be Roman. We have a great desire to be supremely American. That purpose we know we can accomplish by continuing the process which has made us Americans. We must search out and think the thoughts of those who established our institutions. The education which made them must not be divorced from the education which is to make us. In our efforts to minister to man's material welfare we must not forget to minister to his spiritual welfare. It is not enough to teach men science, the great thing is to teach them how to use science.

We believe in our Republic. We believe in the principles of democracy. We believe in liberty. We believe in order under the established provisions of law. We believe in the promotion of literature and the arts. We believe in the righteous authority of organized Government. We believe in patriotism. These beliefs must be supported and strengthened. They are not to be inquired of for gain and profit, though without them all gain and all profit would pass away. They will not be found in the teachings devoted exclusively to commercialism though without them commerce would not exist. These are the higher things of life. Their teaching has come to us from the classics. If they are to be maintained they will find their support in the institutions of the liberal arts. When we are drawing away from them, we are drawing away from the path of security and progress. It is not yet possible that instruction in the classics could be the portion of every American. That opportunity ought to be not diminished but increased. But while every American has not had and may not have that privilege, America has had it. Our leadership has been directed in accordance with these ideals. Our faith is in them still.

We have seen many periods which tried the soul of our republic. We shall see many more. There will be times when efforts will be great and profits will vanish. There have been and will be times when the people will be called upon to make great sacrifices for their country. Unless Americans shall continue to live in something more than the present, to be moved by something more than material gains, they will not be able to respond to these requirements and they will go down as other peoples have gone down before some nation possessed of a greater moral force. The will to endure is not the creation of a moment, it is the result of long training. That will has been our possession up to the present hour. By its exercise we have prospered and brought forth many wonderful works. The object of our education is to continue us in this great power. That power depends on our ideals. The great and unfailing source of that power and these ideals has been the influence of the classics of Greece and Rome. Those who believe in America, in her language, her arts, her literature and in her science, will seek to perpetuate them by perpetuating the education which has produced them.

AD ALPES¹

By H. C. NUTTING
University of California

V²

Lucius autem iam patrem aspexerat, manusque statim ad eum tendebat. Quo viso, "Quam bellus est ille parvulus," inquit mercator. "Quem cum video, semper recordor de versibus illis lepidis poetae Catulli:

"Torquatus volo parvulus
Matris e gremio suae
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem
Semihiante labello."

"Nonne scis," inquit Sextus, "Publium quoque nostrum esse poetam? Versus luculentos paene cotidie facit."

Quo audito, Publius erubuit, et: "Tace, sis, Sexte," inquit. "Nonne te pudet tam stulte loqui?"

"Quin heri," inquit Sextus, "te in umbra veli sedentem vidi, cum aliquid magna cum cura conficeres."

"Age, fili mi," inquit Cornelius ridens: "Verecundari te haud decet. Audiamus quae scripseris."

Tali cohortatione inductus, Titus chartam haud invitus protulit et: "Paucos abhinc dies," inquit, "Annam audiui, cum vesperi leniter cantaret, quo facilius Lucius requiesceret. Canebat illa de laboribus civium suorum, qui domo expulsi Babylonem in exilium deducti sunt. Cantus erat et maestissimus et dulcissimus. Cum autem illa sua lingua uteretur, vix intellegere potui quid diceret. Sed paulo post me docuit quid cecinisset; ac verborum sententiam nostris modis ita exprimere conatus sum:

"Sedemus amnis ad Babylonios,
Nostorum amaris funera lacrimis,
Sione victa, conquerentes
Exilii quae gravis labores.

¹ Copyright by H. C. Nutting, 1921.

² For earlier chapters and explanation; see the April and May numbers of the *Classical Journal*.

"Iam victor atrox increpitans ioco,
'Sionis,' inquit, 'laetificis modis
Cantate laudes. Cur sedetis,
Consimiles ovibus, tacentes?"

"Hic ut canamus nos patrium deum
Maesti exsultantes, barbarica in domo?
Sion, male hostes sic cadant ut
Te cineresque tuos verebor."

"Euge," inquit mercator. "Mihi quidem hi versus optimi esse videntur. Si feliciter progressum feceris, aliquando poeta verus esse poteris."

At nunc Drusilla liberis: "Fortasse Anna vobis quoque aliqua narrabit. Eam rogate." (Nam interim Anna cum Lucio disceserat, iamque haud procul sedebat.)

Illa, cum audivisset quae liberi vellent: "Multa et clara," inquit, "sunt facta virorum gentis meae; diesque deficiat, si vobis omnia narrare coner. Audivistisne umquam de homine omnium validissimo?"

"Herculem, ut opinor, dicis," inquit Sextus; "nam ferunt eum omnes viribus superasse."

"Non Herculem dico," inquit Anna, "sed Samsonem, qui manibus ipsis leonem dilaniavit."

"Idem fecit Hercules quoque," inquit Sextus; "quamquam fortasse ille clavam suam tum gerebat."

"Omnia nondum dixi," inquit Anna. "Samson, cum in quadam urbe eum hostes custodirent, clam noctu discessit postesque ipsos portae humeris abstulit."

"Eugepae!" inquit Sextus. "Vix credo Herculem ipsum id facere potuisse."

At Anna: "Postremo hostes certiores facti sunt vires eius in capillo sitas esse; doloque eum aggressi, capillum dempserunt. Tum Samson facile in eorum potestatem venit; quem, cum oculos ei eripuissent, in pistrinum deduxerunt, ubi semper in tenebris molam versare coactus est."

"Eheu," inquit Cornelia; "quam me istius infelicis miseret!"

"Ipse se pulchre ultus est," inquit Anna. "Nam quibusdam

feriis, cum multitudo maxima convenisset, puerum oravit ut manus suas in columnas templi imponeret (nam ipse iam caecus erat). Quo facto Samson, cui capillus iterum promittebatur, omnibus viribus adnissus, columnas disiecit, et ruina templi hostes plurimos secum oppressit."

"Haec est fabula adprime lepida," inquit Sextus. "Potesne aliquid de bellatore magno narrare?"

Tum Anna: "Nostra gens exemplis talibus abundat. Longum est etiam pauca narrare. Sed olim erat pastor, qui vixdum iuvenis ingentem occidit hostem, qui verbis contumeliosis nostros ad proelium provocabat."

"De isto narra, sis," inquit Sextus. "Audire cupimus."

At Anna: "Hostis erat gigas, nec cum eo congredi quisquam audebat; quare omnes credebant hunc iuvenem delirare, qui certamen tam impar inire pararet. Accedebat ut puer armis militari-bus uti nesciebat; quam ob rem cum funda tantum et aliquot lapidibus levibus in proelium prodiit."

"Amens certe fuit," inquit Sextus, "qui hoc modo armatus cum bellatore ingenti congredi auderet."

"Nullo modo," inquit Anna; "nam auxilio Dei confidebat, neque id eum fefellit. Nam priusquam hostis propius accedere posset, lapidem in eius frontem tanta vi impegit, ut bellator ingens subito corruens humi fusus iaceret. Tum adulescens, gladio ipsius arrepto, caput hostis abscidit idque sanguine cruentum ad regem retulit."

"Vah!" inquit Cornelia. "Facta talia audiens horresco. Nonne aliquid laetius narrare potes?"

Tum Anna: "Multa laeta commemorare possum. Quin etiam recordor quaedam de hoc ipso pastore adulescente, qui postea rex gentis factus est. Olim, cum bellum cum finitimis gereret, hostes-que praesidio occupavissent urbem, quae erat ipsius patria, tum rex, siti oborta, militibus audientibus: 'Utinam,' inquit, 'nunc bibere possem e fonte gelido, qui est prope portam patriae!' Quo audito, tres milites virtutis maximae, clam castris egressi, per stationes hostium via gladiis facta ad fontem pervenerunt; tum, aqua inde celeriter hausta ad regem incolumes se receperunt. Qui cum cognovisset quanto periculo aqua adlata esset, bibere noluit, atque eam libans humi perfudit."

“Regem optimum!” inquit Cornelia. “Huius modi fabulis maxime delector.”

Sed iam Lucius, qui diu in gremio nutricis tacitus sederat, querellas edere coepit, Annaque eum in cameram ad matrem abduxit. Liberi interim abierunt ut cognoscerent quid ageret Stasimus.

VI

Iam dies complures caelo sereno navigaverant, omnesque gaudebant, sine periculo ullo iter totum confici posse rati, cum subito nubes atrae e mari oriri visae sunt, quae brevi diem oculis vectorum eripuerunt. In conspectu nulla erat terra, ventique turbidi per rudentes stridere coeperunt.

Tum nautae vela subducere properaverunt, et omnia quae usui essent ad vim tempestatis leniendam parata sunt. Interim magister mulieres una cum liberis et servis camera se continere iussit. Viri autem paulisper in puppi ambulare perseveraverunt, etsi iam ventorum vi vestis eorum paene discerpta est. Brevi illi quoque libenter in locum tutum se receperunt; iam enim in mari erat atra nox, fluctus maximi navem feriebant, omniaque mortem minari videbant.

In camera sedebant mulieres et liberi pavidī, et interdum fluctus tanti navem quatiebant, ut vix loco se tenere possent. Publius autem, qui nolebat quemquam putare se esse anxium, librum poetae cuiusdam adsidue legebat.

Cui postremo pater: “Quem librum,” inquit, “tam adsidue legis, mi fili?”

“Hic est liber optimus poetae Ovidi,” inquit Publius. “De naufragio loquitur. Audite quam lepidi sint hi versus.” Quo dicto, recitare coepit:

“Totidem videntur,

Quot veniant fluctus, ruere atque inrumpere mortes.

Non tenet hic lacrimas; stupet hic; vocat ille beatos,

Funera quos maneat; hic votis numen adorat,

Brachiaque ad caelum, quod non videt, irrita tollens

Poscit opem.”

Sed iam subito Drusilla, quae prae terrore vix se continere poterat: “Desine, obsecro,” inquit, “mi fili, librumque illum dirum depone. Nonne vides nos quoque in periculo magno esse, et nobis fortasse brevi pereundum esse?”

"Tranquillo es animo," inquit Cornelius. "Valida est navis nostra, et nautae exercitati. In saxa latentia nisi in tenebris deferemur, omnia tuta sunt." Tum Publio: "Sed, mi fili, censeo illud carmen relinquendum, donec omnes hilariores erunt."

"Quam mox in Italiam perveniemus?" inquit Sextus, qui sub subsellium refugerat, ne quis sciret se flere.

"Aliquamdiu per mare Ionium iam provecti sumus," inquit pater, "et spero haud procul abesse terram Italicam."

Vix ea dicta sunt, cum clamor magnus in puppi subito ortus est. Quo audito, Cornelius et viri ceteri e camera celeriter prodierunt. Undique erant fluctus velut aquae montes, qui iam iam navem submersuri videbantur; ventique tantopere furebant, ut homines malo rudentibusque se sustinere cogerentur, ne vi tempestatis e puppi raperentur in mortem praesentem.

Nubes autem iam rariores erant, inter quas dies iterum lucebat; et haud procul in mari vasto conspici poterat navis parva, quae fluctibus in scopulosum litus insulae modicae recta ferebatur. Haec erat causa clamoris, quo viatores e camera excitati erant.

Tum Cornelius magna voce navis magistro, qui prope stabat: "Nihilne illis miseris hominibus," inquit, "opitulari possumus?"

Ille maestus abnuit. "Vis venti nimia est," inquit. "Si eis opitulari conabimur, nostra quoque navis in saxa feretur."

"Quam hoc est foedum visu," inquit Cornelius gemens. "Vide, sis; mali iam fracti sunt, et vectores miseri vestes pro velis tendunt; alii etiam arma in mare praecipitant, ut navis sublevetur. Omnibus modis mortem effugere conantur."

Dum haec fiunt, Publius quoque e camera egressus aegre et caute ad patrem adiit. Quo cum pervenisset navemque vidisset alteram: "Eheu!" inquit; "male metuo ne hodie naufragium verum aspiciamus."

"Recte dicis," inquit Cornelius; "neque ullo modo eis miseris opitulari posse videmur."

"Aspice," inquit Publius. "Iam pauci cymba parva effugere conaturi sunt. Vide quam effrenate illa in fluctibus saltet! Modo in conspectu est, modo aspici nusquam potest! Iam in ea sunt tres homines! Nunc remos agere incipiunt! Attat! Iam venit aquae mons! Cavete, miseri, cavete vobis!"

Haec ipsa verba cum Publius diceret, fluctus ingens cymbam parvam evertit. Paulisper viri duo in gurgite nantes aspiciebantur tum in mari mersi sunt.

"Haec diutius videre non sustineo," inquit Cornelius, et propere in cameram se contulit; Publius autem cupiditate videndi in puppi morari perseveravit.

Ut pater cum Onesimo et Stasimo iterum prodiit, insula parva iam e conspectu recesserat neque usquam navis altera conspici poterat. Sol, qui iterum fulgere coeperat, se undis condere pro, perabat, at postremo nautae procul montes cernere potuerunt. Quo cognito, omnes gaudebant, cum scirent se brevi in portum perventuros.

Tum Cornelius Stasimo: "Abi," inquit, "dominae nuntia, ut in puppim prodeat; nam demum terram exoptatam in conspectu esse."

Stasimus statim discessit, et patri Publius: "Existimo nos e navi Brundisii egressuros," inquit. "Nonne res se ita habet, pater?"

"Ita, fili mi," inquit Cornelius. "In hac regione terrarum nullum oppidum portum meliorem habet. Hic est locus unde Pompeius Magnus naves solvit, cum Caesarem fugiens exercitum in Graeciam traduceret. Et sicut nos nunc montes illos appropinquare videmus, ita ille olim eosdem nebulis obscuros procul e conspectu discedere vidit. Qua de re poeta Lucanus versus aliquos pulcherrimos fecit."

Interim Drusilla cum liberis e camera prodierat. Brevi tenebrae e mari surgere coeperunt; tum Cornelia, qui cum patre et fratribus stabat: "Videte," inquit. "Aspicere videor lumen parvum procul fulgere. Quid est, obsecro?"

"Haec est pharus," inquit pater, "quae noctu viam significat nautis, quo tutius naves in portum deduci possint. Sine hoc lumine fortasse e cursu gubernatores errarent, navesque in litus iniquum deferrentur."

"Euge," inquit Cornelia. "In portum profecto incolumes perveniemus. Sed nunc intro mihi eundum est, ut cum Anna sedeam dum Lucium consopiat."

Itaque illa discessit. Ceteri autem aliquamdiu in puppi ambulabant; nam tempestas iam erat tam serena ut nemo intro se recipere vellet.¹

¹ This chapter completes a first installment of *Ad Alpes*, which it is planned to publish in book form at a later date.

Hints for Teachers

Edited by B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.

Latin for English

Miss Elizabeth F. Smiley of the Jersey Township High School, Jerseyville, Ill., writes:

"At this time of the year we are receiving much text-book literature, much that is good, on methods of teaching Latin—how to teach Latin through English; how to teach English through Latin. May I speak of our experiment in teaching Latin through Latin? It has proved a genuine stimulus to vocabulary study in first and second year classes, is keenly enjoyed, and has made the students feel at home with the language.

We proceed upon the theory that knowledge of word formation saves much time in using a lexicon; that the word stem *may* yield four parts of speech—noun, verb, adjective, adverb; and, as in English, its meaning is the key that opens them all. Accordingly, beginning with nouns in *-tor*, similar nouns are formed in class from all verb stems to date. Nouns in *-tas* give a review of adjectives and so on. Nouns are turned to verbs and vice versa, adjectives and adverbs are formed from "hidden stems." Four parts of speech are worked out if possible. There is always Harper's Lexicon to prove the correctness of our "guesses." For example, *firmus, -a, -um* suggests *firme, firmitas, firmitudo, firmo, firmiter*. Some day we will find *firmamentum* and recognize it.

I think that I may say safely that our vocabulary has been more than doubled if not tripled and that the young people regard Latin as a rational, workable thing. We have always done a little of this work, but systematic development has paid immensely."

Teachers may wonder why I put this under the caption "Latin for English." I do so because it gives me an opportunity to drive home the most important lesson of all in the matter of teaching Latin for English, a lesson which seems to have been almost universally neglected. English word formation should not be studied by itself in the Latin class; it must come as a sequel to Latin word formation. Thus Miss Smiley has set forth an essential

first step for the study of English through Latin. Furthermore, all word formation, Latin and English, should be introduced at the proper point, e.g., prefix *ad* should be taken up soon after preposition *ad* has been learned, and both Latin and English examples should be used in illustration.

Anything that is taught about Latin word formation is helpful for Latin and English, anything that is taught about English word formation is helpful for Latin and English, but most helpful is the combination of the two.

Parallels

The importance of drawing parallels between ancient and modern times in order to impress upon the pupils that the ancients were living flesh and blood was pointed out in these "Hints" last March. It was also suggested that such parallels might be displayed on bulletin boards.

The discussion going on as this is being written as to the possibility of putting the Governor of Illinois under arrest on charges of improper use of state funds while holding another office reminds one of the practice of the Romans, which we have inherited. In actual fact, though not in theory, no Roman magistrate could successfully be brought to trial while holding office. The reason for this practice was to prevent persons from bringing charges for purely political motives and thus interfering with the government. It is just this objection that the "friends of the court" raised in favor of Governor Small. The reader can judge for himself whether there is any political motive in the charges brought against the Governor of Illinois, whether they be false or true. There is not space to develop the parallelism further, but attention may be called to the fact that Caesar's quarrel with the Senate, which led to the crossing of the Rubicon, to the Civil War of 49 B. C. and all its momentous consequences, was due to his desire to step from one office to another in order to prevent his political enemies from bringing charges against him while he was a private citizen. Perhaps some one will expand this parallel in a short article; in the meantime teachers are referred to the newspapers and to Abbott's *Roman Political Institutions*, especially pp. 115, 172, 173.

A newspaper showed a picture recently of the Earl of Minto carrying his bride over the threshold of her new home, and labelled it a "cave man" relic of the marriage by capture.

The Romans had exactly the same custom, sometimes explained as a relic of the marriage by capture, sometimes as a precaution against the bad luck of stumbling over the threshold.

A newspaper recently showed a picture of the "latest invention" to save policemen's lives, intended for creeping up on outlaws who have barricaded themselves. It is nothing more or less than a steel version of the *pluteus* familiar to readers of Caesar, i.e., a double, hinged screen on rollers.

Latin Composition

Following the suggestion of a teacher a request was made in the May "Hints" for contributions to a discussion of methods of simplifying the teaching of Latin composition. It seems to me rather significant that there have been no responses. Composition is one of our most difficult problems.

I myself have rather positive views on most phases of Latin teaching, but I have no complete theory about composition. The difficulty is the fundamental one of deciding whether its values are important enough in themselves to teach it for its own sake in high school or whether it should be merely a help toward securing success along other lines. I incline toward the latter view. We have been hampered more by tradition in teaching composition than in other fields. An excellent proof of this assertion is the favorite term "prose composition" or, worse yet, merely "prose." The term of course harks back to the time (still existent in England) when there was composition in verse as well as in prose, to a time, therefore, when Latin was used as a spoken and written language. I am sure that teachers of Latin would get a better perspective of the problem and would find simpler methods if they would avoid the objectionable term. Even the word "composition" is unsatisfactory in referring to translation from English of set sentences or passages, but it seems hopeless to change usage here.

Again I invite contributions to the discussion.

Latin Clubs and Entertainments

The files of the *Classical Journal* contain a great deal of useful material on Latin clubs. Especial attention may be called to the department of Current Events and to the following articles:

Snyder, B. J., *Latin Clubs and Their Programs*, X, 164 ff.

Snyder, B. J., *Motive Energy in Secondary Latin: One Source*, II, 23 ff.

Hoyt, Cheever, *A Roman Republic in High School*, VII, 286 ff.

Schlicher, J. J., *Latin Clubs among High-School Students*, III, 289 ff.

A Community Experiment in Latin, XII, 561.

There is also the book by Susan Paxson, *Handbook for Latin Clubs*, published by D. C. Heath & Co., \$.88.

The songs, games and plays mentioned in the "Hints" of the last volume furnish material for use in clubs or in unorganized social groups.

Miss Mabel J. Mather, of the Cheboygan, Mich., High School, describes a "Latin party" given four weeks after the opening of school. Parts of her description are therefore pertinent at this time of year. She writes:

The party was, to be sure, a very simple affair, but yet was certainly received with great appreciation by my pupils, to whom the idea of a strictly *Latin* party was new. I conducted it for all of our Latin pupils, some of whom were seniors and more than half of whom had had only four weeks of Latin. Accordingly, the Latin had to be very simple. The games are adaptations of common parlor games which are suitable for use with large groups.

On entering, each person was given a slip of paper bearing the answer to a conundrum. He was told to find among the several conundrums posted in conspicuous places around the room the one for which he had the answer and to guess as many others as possible. These conundrums were very simple, as, e.g., "Why are most Latin verb forms like love letters?" (Because they have personal endings.)

Next each guest had pinned on his back a slip of paper with a Latin word written on it. Then there was a lively contest to see who could secure the longest list of words copied from the backs of others. Following two other simple games a spelling contest

took place. The participants were divided into three equal groups and lined up on three sides of a square, while I stood with a scorekeeper on the fourth side. A letter printed on a large piece of paper was pinned on the front of the coat or dress of each contestant. As I pronounced the Latin words those in each group who bore the proper letters hurried into position in front of their respective lines.

I have conducted many parties, but none more jolly than this. After they had departed I felt that I was acquainted with my pupils outside of the classroom and that because of this fact we could work together more effectively in the classroom.

Miss Marjorie Carpenter, of the Girls' High School, Riverside, Cal., writes:

The Latin Club has had much fun in playing some very common games in Latin. For one thing the members wrote a long story in English using the names of prominent students and leaving many blanks for adjectives. Then we had everyone give a Latin adjective, telling each person only the case and gender desired. The blanks were then filled in their order no matter how ludicrous the combination of noun and adjective. Then the story was read amid much laughter. The girls have never forgotten some of those adjectives on account of the unusual associations. It adds to the game if everyone is told to give an adjective a little out of the ordinary.

Our Club has all its songs and yells in Latin. Recently they challenged the Spanish Club to a basket-ball game and translated the players' names into Latin so that they could yell for them in Latin: Smith, *Faber*; Boardman, *Tabulahomo*; Vail, *Velum*, etc.

Conundrums

Very often a conundrum, such as that mentioned by Miss Mather in the preceding section, is of much help in driving home a difficult point. Teachers are asked to send in their favorite conundrums. Here is an old one: "Why is the future of the third conjugation like an old maid? Because it has no *-bo*."

Interesting Prospective Latin Pupils

Many a Latin teacher has seen the necessity of "selling" Latin to the newcomers in high school. Probably the best method is to convince the grade teachers and principals of the value of Latin and to get them to advise their pupils to study Latin. But that is not always possible.

Miss Mary E. Burgoyne, of the Bridgeport, Conn., High School, has devised a clever little four-page folder, attractively printed by high-school boys, which is put into the hands of the entering students. Page one has on it the title "What Shall I Study?" followed by a Latin and an English quotation. Pages two and three contain brief arguments for Latin. The large initial letters of the paragraphs form the acrostic STUDY LATIN. Page four gives eight reasons, each of two words, for studying Latin. Then follow quotations on the value of Latin from Herbert Hoover, Viscount Bryce and Elihu Root.

Teachers who desire to find such quotations will obtain them most easily from West's *Value of the Classics*, published by the Princeton University Press, \$1.00, or from a little pamphlet called *The Practical Value of Latin*, sold by Charles Knapp, 1737 Sedgwick Ave., New York City, for \$.05.

Book Reviews

The Outlines of History. By H. G. WELLS, two volumes, pages 648 and 676. Macmillan Company. \$10.50.

In 1914 it was said of Mr. Wells that he was jealous of the war. Apparently in an effort to satisfy his jealousy he has glanced over the history of mankind and has found abundant cause for dissatisfaction and discouragement. His history is to be written in the same spirit as Tacitus wrote his Histories, "neque amore et sine odio," and one must confess that he has succeeded in maintaining an impartial attitude just about as well as Tacitus did. Christ and Confucius, Muhammad and Buddha are all to be placed on an equal footing (I, 573). They are all to be treated fairly but firmly. These are volumes to which any one may turn, no matter who his hero is, and there find him shorn of all his glittering reputation. "Pericles is a Greek demigog (I, 345), a political statesman rather of the calibre of Gladstone and Lincoln." As for the latter, Gladstone is a "man of profound ignorance" (II, 429); Lincoln is subsequently alluded to but once (II, 443), where a single line tells his history. Alexander is a "precipitate wrecker of splendid possibilities" (I, 510). Julius Caesar is "an elderly sensualist or sentimentalist" (II, 13). Of Napoleon Mr. Wells writes as the Romans (except Nepos) wrote of Hannibal. The man who conceived the battle of Austerlitz and the campaign of Paris is to Mr. Wells "not so intelligent a leader as Moreau or Hoche" (II, 374). In fact, he was "a scoundrel, bright and complete" (II, 375). All the good that he did would have happened without his intervention; all the wrong that he did is made lustily to live after him. Even his influence on the compilation of the Code Napoleon is minimized.

But it is with Mr. Wells' treatment of classical history that I am concerned, and to his representation of ancient culture I wish strongly to object. My objection is not that he drags to light every outworn scandal, especially scandals that are connected with sex relations; not that there are inaccuracies (e.g. the younger Scipio is called an adopted son of the elder Scipio, I, 477: "Men will treat the rough notes of Thucydides or Plato for work they never put in order as miracles of style" I, 360 (Mr. Wells has, of course, confused Plato and Aristotle! and Thucydides' incomplete history is no more "rough notes" than Macaulay's History of England); nor is it that I disagree with him in his judgment of historical values (e.g., the disastrous importance of the Punic wars, I, 468); nor in his portraiture of individuals. It is of course unfair in characterizing the elder Cato (I, 474) to lead the unsuspecting reader to believe that Cato left his horse in Spain because he was too cruel to bring him home; nor can anyone who studies the history of Julius Caesar seriously believe that debauchery was his principal occupation in life. My ground for objection is that Mr. Wells has failed utterly in giving his readers the correct perspective for the judgment of Greek and Roman culture. In the case of Athens particularly, his emphasis is on the shortcomings of Athenian democracy. He complains that the Athenians had slaves and that the women were not allowed to vote. Now when one remembers that slavery as an institution was abolished not very much more than sixty years ago; that it is hardly a

quarter of a century since women have been allowed to vote in any civilized country, one can scarcely blame the Athenians for not having reached this Utopian level.

Mr. Wells constantly harps upon the absence of mechanical inventions. The failure of the human race to conceive the printing press fills him with great sorrow. To this he recurs again and again; and finally when the Alexandrian period is reached, he is so disgusted that he gives the reader an elaborate picture of the facilities which he himself has for writing his history, contrasting it with the meagre equipment of the Alexandrian scholar, and suggesting a familiar piano-player device which the Alexandrians should have thought of for handling their rolls. In fact, more space is devoted to the glorification of the appointments of Mr. Wells' private study than is given to the Peloponnesian war and the American Civil war combined. When one contemplates the reluctance with which English civilization adopts labor-saving devices in the twentieth century, one feels that Mr. Wells should have a little more charity for Aristarchus' inability to envisage the motor driven roller of the piano-player. It is a pity that Mr. Wells could not have weighed ancient civilization in the light of what it did achieve and not in the light of what it could have done under his direction.

It is customary to speak of Mr. Wells' histories as if they were a wonderful performance. They do not seem so to me. Given a professional writer and an amateur philosopher (see *The Heart of a Bishop*, *passim*), assisted by a corps of readers, and guarded from mistakes by expert advisers, and the *Outlines of History* are an easy task. What would not one have given for an *Outlines of History* written by that "profoundly ignorant man," Mr. Gladstone!

Mr. Wells' *Outlines of History* has two distinct merits. His point of view is stimulating. By determining in every case not to accept the conventional view of an historical character or event, he stimulates the reader to aggressive dissent. In the second place, his history is readable, and that, in my opinion, is no small merit. Perhaps Cicero goes too far in saying that history should be written "*ad narrandum non ad probandum*." Certainly Mr. Wells' history is written *ad narrandum* (he himself admits that it is for the Hindus and the Moslems and the Buddhists, as well as for the Americans and the Western Europeans, II, 573); and perhaps the greatest thing about it is that it is actually being widely read. May I quote a single paragraph as a sample of Mr. Wells' incisive style?

"Wisdom passed away from Alexandria and left pedantry behind. For the use of books was substituted the worship of books. Very speedily the learned became a specialized queer class with unpleasant characteristics of its own. The Museum had not existed for half a dozen generations before Alexandria was familiar with a new type of human being; shy, eccentric, unpractical, incapable of essentials, strangely fierce upon trivialities of literary detail, as bitterly jealous of the colleague within as of the unlearned without, the bent Scholarly Man. He was as intolerant as a priest, though he had no altar; as obscurantist as a magician, though he had no cave. For him no method of copying was sufficiently tedious and no rare book sufficiently inaccessible. He

was a sort of by-product of the intellectual process of mankind. For many precious generations the new-lit fires of the human intelligence were to be seriously banked down by this by-product."

LOUIS E. LORD.

OBERLIN, OHIO.

June 7, 1921.

Recent Books

- ADAMS, LOUISE E. W. *A Study in the Commerce of Latium, from the early Iron Age through the Sixth Century, B. C.* (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 2). Northampton: Smith College. Pp. 84. \$0.75.
- AESCHYLUS. *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*, translated from the Greek text of Sidgwick by Marion Clyde Wier. Ann Arbor: C. W. Graham. Pp. 59. \$0.75.
- CATULLUS. *Selections from Catullus*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by Michael Macmillan (Oxford Junior Latin Series). New York: Oxford University Press. Various paging. \$0.90.
- CICERO. *M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione, Liber Primus*, with commentary by Arthur Stanley Pease. Parts I, II. (Studies in Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Vol. VI, Nos. 2, 3). Pp. 168, 170. Each part \$1.50 net.
- HORACE. *The Odes of Horace*, translated into English verse by John Finlayson. London: Routledge. Pp. xi+153.
- HYDE, LILIAN S. *The Great Stories of the Greeks*. Boston: Small, Maynard. Pp. 233. \$1.25 net.
- LIVY. Book XXI, edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, by John Pyper (Oxford Junior Latin Series). New York: Oxford University Press. Various paging. \$0.90.
- OVID. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Liber III*, edited with an introduction and commentary by Cyril Bailey. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 142. \$2.00.
- OVID. *A Term of Ovid: Stories from the Metamorphoses for study and sight reading*, edited by Clarence W. Gleason. New York: American Book Co. Pp. 232. \$1.12.
- PETERSSON, TORSTEN. *Cicero, a Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 699. \$5.00.
- PLAUTUS, T. *Macci Plauti Menaechmi*, edited with introduction and noted by Clara M. Knight. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xxxvi+132.
- PLUTARCH. *Lives*, with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin. Vol. X (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam. Pp. 399. \$2.25 net.
- PLUTARCH. *Lives*, translated by Sir Thomas North: a Selection. New York: Macmillan. Pp. xv+254. \$1.20 net.
- QUINTILIAN. *The Institutio Oratoria*, with an English Translation by H. E. Butler. Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam. Pp. 532. \$2.25 net.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

According to the usual custom, the Treasurer submits herewith the balance sheet for the years 1919-20, 1920-21.

REPORT OF TREASURER

	1921	1920
Cash.....	\$ 6.75	\$ 975.53
Classical Journal.....	5240.87	3403.57
Classical Philology.....	522.10	245.80
Clerical Help.....	531.69	383.12
Postage.....	268.23	157.98
Vice-Presidents.....	138.24	86.90
Miscellaneous printing.....	412.10	81.05
Southern Meeting.....	80.00	
Publicity Committee.....	53.14	
Editor's office.....	35.90	25.10
Annual Meeting.....	94.36	360.97
Sundries.....	76.76	44.81
American Classical League.....	131.25	198.25
Total.....	\$7591.39	\$5963.08
Cash balance from preceding year.....	975.53	531.72
Membership Dues.....	4320.80	3437.15
University of Chicago Press.....	1656.20	1986.48
Interest.....	28.00	
Journal Index.....	1.60	7.73
Accounts Payable and Receivable.....	609.26	
Total.....	7591.39	5963.08

We have examined the books of the Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South for the year September 1, 1920 to August 31, 1921, and have found them correct.

EDWIN L. FINDLEY
M. FOSTER LEWIS
FRED S. DUNHAM
Auditing Committee.

In submitting the report for my first year as treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, I have included the corresponding items of the preceding year for the sake of comparison. It was estimated by the executive committee and my predecessor, Professor Louis E. Lord, when the secretary-treasurership of the Association was transferred to me, that we should have a deficit this year of \$600, and their estimate has proven to be very nearly right. The \$609.26 of accounts payable and receivable less the cash on hand, \$6.75, leaves a deficit of \$602.51. Comparing this with the \$975.53 of cash on hand with all bills paid a year ago, we shall see at once that our expenses have been \$1578.04 more than the year before. This is due chiefly to the increased cost of printing the Journal. This increase amounted to \$1837.30.

A very active campaign for increased membership, and the fact that new forms of all kinds were necessitated by the change in the treasurer are responsible for the increased cost of clerical help, printing, and postage. This increase is fully justified by the large increase in receipts from members' dues. At the present writing we have the largest membership in our history. Other items in the report will no doubt be readily understood.

The large increase in the cost of printing which has brought about our deficit has necessitated very careful planning on the part of the Executive Committee. The following measures have been taken to meet the situation.

1. The printing of the Journal has been transferred from the University of Chicago Press to the Geo. Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin, from whom we have been able to secure a much lower price. In making this change we desire to express our appreciation of the excellent and very satisfactory service which we have always had from the University of Chicago Press. The change is caused entirely by the necessity of curtailing expenses. We trust and feel confident that with the new publishers the Journal will fully maintain the high standard which it has always had.

2. In so far as it proves to be absolutely necessary to enable us us to "make ends meet," the number of pages in some of the issues of the Journal will be reduced to 48.

3. We have introduced an advertising section at the end of each issue, and we bespeak for our advertisers the cordial consideration of our members.

4. It has been decided to ask our contributors to pay for their reprints and corrections made by them after the proof has been submitted.

5. In transferring to a different printer, all business relating to subscriptions and supplying the Journal to the members of all three Associations for whom this is the official organ, and the work of addressing wrappers for each issue has been transferred to the office of the secretary-treasurer in the hope that a considerable saving can be effected.

We trust that with the changes indicated above we can take care of our deficit and show an increase in funds from year to year without raising the price of the Journal to the members of our Associations and to our subscribers. The coöperation of all our members is urged in the securing of a large number of new members and subscribers.

Respectfully submitted,

ROLLIN H. TANNER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

THE FUNCTION OF LATIN IN THE SECONDARY CURRICULUM

BY MASON D. GRAY
East High School, Rochester, N. Y.

It is a reasonably safe assertion to make that every subject in the secondary schools is being scrutinized today as never before as to the justification for its existence. The question is being asked more and more insistently and uncompromisingly of every subject, "Precisely what function does it seek to perform, is that function actually performed, and is it worth while?"

Latin offers no exception to this general tendency. It cannot escape making an answer to this question, even if it would. And there are encouraging indications that much of the self-examination to which the teaching of Latin is now subjecting itself does not spring mainly from motives of self-defense, but from an honest determination to be absolutely sincere with itself and with the 500,000 pupils who are now studying Latin in the secondary schools.

More significant still is the pragmatic note that is growing stronger and stronger in the discussions as to the function of Latin. With constantly growing persistence there is linked to the question, "What are the aims of Latin?", the still more vital questions, "Are these aims worth while for our half million pupils?" and "What are we doing to make sure that these aims are actually being realized?"

Obviously the first step in such a self-analysis is a definition of aims.¹ The decisive factor in constructing a course in Latin or in any other subject is the ultimate aim and purpose of the course, the goal proposed.² That there is still wide divergence among

¹ The writer is chairman of a committee appointed by the Educational Department of New York State to propose a syllabus in Latin for the Junior High Schools of the state. A large part of this article is taken directly from the preliminary report of that committee.

² Raymond A. Kent, (*School Review* V. 27, no. 3, p. 185, March 1919).

teachers of Latin as to what the controlling ends of Latin study are, will be readily apparent to any one who reviews the literature of the subject for the last five years. It is not the primary purpose of this article to attempt a definition of aims, but, if possible, to go one step further back and propose certain cardinal principles which the writer believes should guide us in determining what the legitimate aims and ends of Latin are.

The first cardinal principle, the validity of which is susceptible to almost mathematical demonstration, is that Latin should be studied not as an end in itself, but as a means to specific, definable, and attainable ends.

By "Latin as an end in itself" is meant that view which conceives the primary purpose of the study of Latin to be the acquisition and retention of the language as a language, for the sake of those remoter ends which are contingent upon such knowledge, such as the understanding of the content of the authors read in school, the power to read and appreciate the masterpieces of Latin literature, the ability to use the language as a professional tool in historical research, etc.

This view conceives of the study of Latin as an *art*,¹ and its validity must be subjected to the same tests as would be applied to the legitimacy of the claim of any other art, viz., "Is the art actually acquired and, if so, does it function as an art?"

I do not believe that the proponents of this view would be willing to defend the status of Latin as an art upon the content value of the actual authors read in school or would urge that the content of Caesar and the actual reading of four books of Caesar would justify the expenditure of two years, if the art ceased to function at that point. Nor would they care to justify an additional year on the basis of content of Cicero or a fourth year on

¹ J. C. Chapman, *The Function of Latin in the Curriculum* (Educational Review V. 53, p. 484).

Benjamin L. D'Ooge, "The First Year of Latin" (*The American Schoolmaster*, Vol. 5, no. 8, p. 352, October 1915).

W. H. Fletcher, *The Translation Method of Teaching Latin* (*Journal of Educational Psychology*, V. XI, no. 1, January 1921, pages 8, 9).

M. A. Leiper, "What Latin in the Second Year?" (*Classical Journal* V. 7 no. 6, p. 243, March, 1912).

the basis of the thought content of Vergil. Their defense of Latin as an art is based upon the assumption that permanent command of the language is acquired precisely as the art of playing a musical instrument is acquired and with the same object, viz., the subsequent use or enjoyment of the art. But how long would the study of the piano, for example, retain its present enormous numbers of devotees, if it were known and understood that upon the termination of the last formal lesson the actual practice of the art would cease? But is not that precisely the incontrovertible fact regarding the students of Latin? Is it not true that even assuming that they gain an actual reading power over the language, the last assigned lesson in the last Latin course constitutes for the vast majority their last practice in the art. But continued use of an art is the only justification for its acquisition. If, therefore, we subject the claim of Latin to be studied as an art to this perfectly legitimate test, the fallacy of the claim is readily apparent.

All this is on the assumption that the ability to read Latin is actually acquired. But that the great majority (probably 99 per cent) of the half million¹ pupils now studying Latin in our secondary schools will never learn to read Latin in any real sense of the term is an obvious fact, too patent to require demonstration, and one that has supplied the enemies of the classics with the greater part of their ammunition.² It is therefore particularly to be regretted that the position of classical teachers upon this issue should be in any respect ambiguous or lacking in that candor and intellectual honesty which should characterize their views.

Thus neither on theoretical nor on practical grounds can the study of Latin as an end in itself, as an art, be justified. While it is a legitimate goal for a very small percentage of those now studying Latin, it can not be accepted as a primary justification for maintaining Latin in its present position as an essential element in the curriculum of our secondary schools.³

¹ Report of United States Commissioner of Education 1916, V. 2, p. 487-89.

² See "Latin in the Secondary Schools," A Study of Ability in Latin, H. A. Brown, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.

³ J. C. Chapman, *Educational Review*, V. 53, p. 484, well expresses this point. "To suppose for one moment that a subject should be kept in the general curriculum

My first cardinal principle, therefore, maintains that the legitimate ends of Latin study are those which can be realized *pari passu* with progress in the subject, and which continue to function after any capacity to read Latin has been lost.¹ This does not mean that the few who will specialize in this field and gain a mastery of the language will be sacrificed or even handicapped by such a program. It is confidently believed that the program proposed for the great majority will be found the best basis for those also who are to pursue their classical studies further and become, as always, the leaders in the realm of thought and literature.²

Many advocates of Latin frankly admit the justice of this contention with as little hesitation and regret as its enemies exhibit in bringing it, and repudiate entirely the theory that Latin should be taught for the sake of Latin.³ Others still advance the independent value of Latin as the primary aim, thus, in the opinion of the writer, playing directly into the hands of their opponents, while still others, although urging other values for Latin, are still more or less under the influence of the traditional theory. They neither explicitly accept nor reject the independent value of Latin and accompany their declaration of position with reservations that may be variously interpreted.

because a few will eventually reach the stage where they have true literary appreciation of the Latin language, is to overlook wantonly the fundamental policy of education. Not one person in a thousand that begins the study of Latin ever carries it to the stage necessary for such appreciation. *Let us clear our minds of cant with regard to the issue and recognize that the percentage would be very small.*

¹ Walter E. Foster, Preliminary Report of the Committee on Ancient Languages (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1913, no. 41, p. 35).

² H. R. Wallin, The Latin of Tomorrow, CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 12, no. 8, p. 539, May 1917.

³ A. R. Wallin (*loc. cit.* p. 536-539).

Stuart P. Sherman, English and the Latin Question (School and Home Economics, April 1912).

Arthur Tappan Walker, Caesar or a Substitute (CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 7, no. 6, p. 239, March 1912).

Kirkland (Proceedings of N. E. A. 1910, p. 497) says:

"We must reckon, however, with certain hard facts; the most important of these is that the majority of the students who begin the study of Latin in the United States any given year will not go far enough to learn much Latin."

Charles H. Judd, Psychology of High School Subjects (p. 423).

The second cardinal principle, the acceptance of which I should like to urge upon my readers, is that whatever are determined upon as the specific aims of Latin, practical, disciplinary and cultural, should become forthwith the determining factors in the selection of material and in the choice of methods. In this respect comparatively little progress has been made.¹

Our teaching of Latin today is, generally speaking, hardly less completely an expression of the rejected ideal of Latin as an end in itself than it was before that ideal was challenged.² It is, in fact, a curious anomaly that with the general recognition among secondary school teachers that the aims of Latin should be restated in terms of modern life with strict intellectual honesty, there has nevertheless been persistently associated an unshaken confidence that somehow or other whatever are stated as the aims of Latin are automatically secured through its study.³ The view here criticized may fairly be said to represent the point of view implicit in the elaborate defences of Latin and Greek that have appeared in recent years in which little or no indication is given that to secure the values described demands anything else than the teaching of Latin.⁴ The writer's position on this issue will be clear from the following quotation taken from the "Suggestions to Teachers" which he prepared in 1914 in connection with the preliminary training course for junior high school teachers of Latin in Rochester, N. Y.

¹ Bobbitt, *What the Schools Teach vs. Might Teach* (Cleveland Educational Survey, page 96).

² B. L. Ullman, *Latin of the Future* (CLASSICAL JOURNAL V. 14, no. 3, p. 310).

Walter E. Foster (*loc. cit.*, p. 36).

J. C. Chapman (*loc. cit.*, p. 484, 485, 488).

H. C. Nutting, *General Discipline and the Study of Latin* (School and Society, V. 5, p. 262, 1917).

³ Charles H. Judd (*op. cit.*, p. 421). "Language, Literature or History," *Nation*, January 25, 1919, p. 112.

Kennedy, *Theory and Verification* (School and Society, V. 4, p. 279, August 19, 1916).

⁴ Francis W. Kelsey, *Latin and Greek in American Education* (Macmillan Co., 1911).

Value of Classics, edited by Dean Andrew F. West (Princeton University Press, 1917).

Practical Value of Latin, Classical Association of the Atlantic States (1915).

Latin and Greek in Education, University of Colorado Bulletin, V. 14, no. 9.

"Why are we constructing our own lessons? Because in all the textbooks now available there is implicit the assumption that the values we have just analyzed are realized automatically. Despite vigorous efforts illustrated by articles, books, exhibits, etc., in large numbers to demonstrate the values of Latin, there is as yet perceptible but little tendency to modify methods or reorganize material on the basis of the potential values established. In fact, curiously enough, precisely the opposite tendency is seen in the textbooks now appearing which are becoming more and more narrowly a preparation for Caesar. That this implicit assumption, that the study of Latin will per se guarantee the realization of the values inherent in the subject is a fallacy, would seem to be self-evident. Name any one of those values and it can hardly be denied that Latin can be taught and in many cases is so taught as not to produce that value. It is against this doctrine of "automatism," so to speak, in theory so fallacious, but in practice so prevalent, that these lessons constitute a protest, but it is hoped, a constructive protest. . . ."

"The theory, therefore, upon which these lessons are constructed is that the values inherent in Latin can be realized only by means of lessons developed expressly to promote their realization and by making these aims the conscious and deliberate purpose of every recitation and of every assigned lesson."

The fallacy involved in the theory of automatic transfer, so far as the disciplinary functions of Latin are concerned, has in recent years been abundantly demonstrated by psychologists. It is not in point here to review the conflict over formal discipline since it was first challenged by Hinsdale in 1894.¹ It may safely be asserted, however, that belief in transfer among psychologists is now well-nigh universal, and that the conditions permitting effective transfer involve limited specific experiences, deliberately produced and consciously generalized, applied and tested. That automatic transfer does not occur to any appreciable extent is today the practically unanimous verdict.²

The position here maintained on this question has now been made orthodox by the final report of the Committee on Classical Languages of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary

¹ Hinsdale, *Dogma of Formal Discipline* (Proceedings of N. E. A., 1894, p. 625).

² Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education* (Chapters 11, 12).

Bagley, *Educative Process*, p. 216.

Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 420-424.

Thorndike, *The Psychology of Learning*, p. 358 and 421.

George M. Stratton, *The Mind as Misrepresented to Teachers*, *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1921.

Education, which should be studied carefully by every classical teacher.¹ This report says:

The committee suggests that teachers of Latin should be on their guard against: (1) expecting too much transfer; (2) expecting too little transfer; (3) expecting transfer to be automatic The committee further holds that in proportion as such potential values are consciously the aim of the work in Latin and consciously developed, in like proportion conditions are favorable to their realization as actual results of the work in Latin.

What is true of the general traits which are the concern of mental training is equally true of the associations which pupils must make in order to apply the concrete facts of the language to other phases of their life outside the Latin classroom. Latin words will not automatically develop the power to call up and explain derivatives based upon them. To recognize opportunities for application involves a capacity much greater than is involved in the acquisition of the original facts, and yet no teacher expects success in acquisition except as a result of daily persistent effort.² Still less can we expect application without an equally persistent training based on material carefully selected and based on methods aimed to awaken the capacity, not simply to make an application when a problem is given, but to recognize the opportunity when it presents itself. Then we may have some reasonable hope that these values will actually be realized in the later activities of life.

At present there is no proof that any one of these tangible values is actually a normal product of Latin study as at present organized. It is claimed, for example, that the study of Latin assists pupils in their spelling of English words. In the investigation of Dallam,³ the coefficients of correlation in spelling were plus .09 for the non-Latin group, and only plus .04 for the Latin group, and instead of seeking in the methods used the explanation for the failure of transfer, Dallam argues that no transfer should

¹ United States Bureau of Education Bulletin (not yet published) quoted by Inglis.

² Charles H. Judd (*loc. cit.*) says: "Application is however a most difficult mental process and needs to be learned just as much as the original principle itself was learned."

³ M. T. Dallam, "Is the Study of Latin Advantageous to the Study of English?" (*Educational Review*, V. 54, p. 502, 1917).

be expected in spelling. "Why should foreign languages help English spelling? . . . A philologist may know what changes should occur in letters where an English word is derived from Latin, but this is not possible for a student with only four years' training in a language."(!) But if a Latin pupil can not be taught to spell *separate* correctly during the first term, there is surely no other application within his powers.

Regarding English derivatives Archibald¹ declares, "It is only comparatively rarely, as the writer knows from written tests in a large number of first-class high schools, that the average student gains very much knowledge of English etymology from his study of Latin."

With regard to such a tangible value as the training in English involved in careful translation—a value estimated by Bennett as alone justifying the study of Latin—Mr. Foster in the Preliminary Report of the Committee on Classical Languages says: "It is one of the traditions of classical study that translation from Latin and Greek is a most valuable training in English expression. So far as the earlier years of secondary teaching are concerned, it is scarcely more than a tradition."

Regarding the effect of the study of Latin upon English vocabulary, Starch² concludes that "the differences between Latin and non-Latin groups are surprisingly small." The same investigator concludes that "the claim of language teachers, so commonly made, that beginners in French who have had Latin are much superior to those who have not had Latin . . . is ill founded."

With regard to grammatical knowledge and correct usage, Starch interprets his investigations as showing that, while foreign language study increases grammatical knowledge, Latin has no advantage over a modern language, and that neither Latin nor a modern language assists in establishing correct usage. Regarding English composition he believes that "the difference in ability is due practically entirely to a difference in original ability and only to a slight or no extent to the training in foreign languages."

¹ Herbert T. Archibald, (CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 9, no. 6, p. 265, March 1914).

² Daniel Starch, Some Experimental Data on the Values of Studying Foreign Languages (School Review, V. 23, no. 10, page 697-703, December 1915, and V. 25, no. 4, p. 243-48, April 1917).

Starch concludes that "the aid of one language in the study of another is only incidental and unimportant," but he adds the important reservation, which represents precisely my contention, "at least so far as present methods of teaching foreign languages go." It is unfortunate that Starch did not abide by the implications of this reservation, for he goes on to reject all possibilities of transfer, and returns to the old ideal of "Latin as an end in itself."

While certain of Starch's investigations indicate a slight superiority for Latin pupils, Inglis concludes that "little dependence can be placed upon the results, because they have failed to show whether that superiority was due to the effect of the study of Latin or to the fact that pupils of higher selection study Latin."

It might be added further that they do not furnish any basis for deciding to what extent the transfer was automatic and to what extent it was the result of conscious training. Since no mention is made of any difference, the classes investigated probably represented the normal type in which no conscious effort to secure transfer was made.

When, however, an investigation is carried out in classes where deliberate and systematic efforts are made to secure transfer, marked results are disclosed. Thus Mr. Perkins's experiments show conclusively that Latin can produce results capable of transfer, and confirm strongly our general position.¹ Mr. Inglis's criticism that Mr. Perkins's table "proves too much" is unfair and unscientific. The difference between the conclusive results of Mr. Perkins and the inconclusive results of Mr. Starch represents precisely the difference that might be expected between results aimed at and results accruing automatically.

Thus both *a priori* considerations and such data as are available give consistent support to the entire rejection of the automatic theory, and to the theory underlying the program here proposed that the capacities for service inherent in Latin furnish the criteria

¹ The experiment is described in three papers.

CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 10, no. 1, p. 7-16, October 1914, "Latin as a Vocational Study in the Commercial Course."

CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 8, no. 7, p. 301 ff., April 1913, "Latin as a Practical Study."

CLASSICAL JOURNAL, V. 12, no. 2, p. 131, November 1916.

for the selection of material and choice of methods. This is the position taken by an increasingly large number of classical teachers.

This principle obviously involves ultimately nothing less than the complete socialization of Latin and Greek, an ideal that at once proposes insistent and even revolutionary demands.¹ It demands that the material and the methods of our secondary Latin shall be selected solely on the basis of their capacity for entering into and interpreting the contemporary or subsequent intellectual environment of the pupil, with little or no reference to frequency of occurrence in Caesar. More specifically it demands that all the tangible facts of vocabulary, syntax, and inflection shall successfully meet the test of the widest applicability outside the Latin classroom.

It demands that, as application is always more difficult than acquisition, so **training in application** shall be an essential part of the methods included on the printed pages of our textbooks and inculcated by the teacher.

It demands that this ideal shall be the controlling factor from the first day in a Latin class, when the pupil should in the simplest possible ways be directed to his environment for his first lessons in both acquiring Latin and applying it, to the doctor's thesis.²

It demands that there shall be a corresponding reform in the training of Latin teachers, who should come to their professional work not only with a knowledge of their subject, but with what is equally important, a clear conception of the aims of Latin teaching and of the reasons that justify its presence in the curriculum, together with a thorough familiarity with the applications of Latin and a systematic training in the psychology of the particular subject.

¹ Henry Suzzallo, *Economy of Time in Education* (U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1913, no. 38, p. 31).

² The medieval ideal still insisted upon by the classical departments of this country, in the construction of doctors' theses, has been the chief stumbling block to the participation of the classics in the general scientific spirit of the age. It has forced into the hands of enemies of Latin investigations and experiments that should have been conducted by its friends. The opportunities for exact research upon vital questions involving the relation of Latin to modern social developments are now at this critical period thrown away in minute researches that express the very quintessence of the ideal of "Latin as an end in itself."

It demands finally—and this must ultimately be the most rigorous demand of all—that systematic investigations be carried out and exact measurements made in the whole field of transfer and application that an ultimate scientific basis may be secured for the determination of relative values.^{1 2}

In the discussion of this second principle there have really been two questions involved so closely related as to be inseparable. It is maintained in the first place that the actual facts to be included in the course whether pertaining to vocabulary, syntax, inflection, or the Latin sentence, should be admitted only provided they meet the test of expressing a fundamental aim of Latin or are indispensable to the teaching of something that does meet that test. In the second place, assuming that material has been selected which will permit the ends proposed to be attained, this material should be consciously and explicitly used to secure those ends. The values inherent in the material will not carry over automatically.

¹ There has been but one investigation worthy of the name, a thesis by Clarence L. Staples entitled "Professional Latin in Modern English: a Study of Educational Readjustment" (University of Pennsylvania, 1914). It will be observed that this thesis was presented in the department of philosophy and pedagogy and not in the department of the classics.

Staples has investigated one of the numerous problems involved in the proposed reform. He has compiled a list of 2,000 words used in modern science. He has, however, made no attempt to indicate relative values, and when he makes a selection he appears to beg the whole question with the remark, "The most useful of the words from the point of view of the completion of a beginner's book in practical Latin have been marked with an asterisk." No clue is given as to the basis of selection which is apparently wholly empirical and subjective. His compilation, however, offers a suggestion to classical departments for doctors' theses and is itself valuable raw material for future analysis. It is curious that his choice of the number 2,000 was determined by the corresponding number in Lodge's list, scarcely a scientific basis for a scientific investigation.

The need of such investigations is coming to be more and more widely recognized.

B. L. Ullman (*loc. cit.*) says:

"Further investigation concerning the Latin vocabulary most important for English is to be expected."

Suzzallo (*loc. cit.*, p. 51).

² Since this article was written an investigation which includes in its scope this vital problem has been initiated by the American Classical League with the support of the General Education Board.

Our third cardinal principle is that the work of any term should be determined not by the needs of those who will continue the subject through the following year, but by the needs of those who will not go beyond the work of that term, a group in many classes comprising approximately fifty per cent of the pupils. The present situation is precisely the reverse of this, and is the tangible expression of the college pressure which, however illegitimate it has come to be regarded theoretically, is still practically the dominant and controlling force in the teaching of secondary Latin. I am convinced that the course in Latin should be so organized that, while its cumulative capacity is fully recognized and maintained unimpaired, nevertheless a week, a month, a term, or a year of Latin should yield results in proportion to the time spent.¹

My fourth cardinal principle is that there should be in the mind of every teacher an explicit consciousness of the values in Latin and that, so far as the developing powers of the pupils permit, they should also be made conscious of those values and of the relation of their specific tasks to the realization of those values. The pupil's conception of the value of Latin should begin the first day on a concrete basis, and should be gradually developed until it corresponds to the conception in the mind of the teacher. The following outline suggests what may ultimately be presented to the pupil and reflects our point of view in constructing the course. It will be observed that in this statement the cumulative argument for the study of Latin is inherent throughout.

WHY DO WE STUDY LATIN?

(In the form in which it might be gradually presented to pupils during the first year.)

"In studying Latin for the next four years of your course, you will devote more time to it than to any other single subject.

¹ Charles H. Judd, (*loc. cit.*, p. 225) says:

"Students certainly have a right to ask at the end of a year of work in any subject, that they carry away something that is of real importance in their intellectual development. Language teachers, accustomed to having a major place on the school program, are very intolerant of any suggestion that they ought to give the student something that is of real intellectual value in so short a period as a single year."

A natural and important question and one that every wide-awake boy or girl will sooner or later surely ask himself is, "Why am I studying Latin?" This question can be answered only by a careful analysis of the values that lie in this study. Consequently this question will be taken up from time to time during your course, and first one value and then another will be examined till you have gained a clear conception of precisely why you are studying Latin.

"This examination of values is not merely to satisfy your curiosity or to enable you to explain to others why you study Latin. It will assist you greatly in getting from the study of Latin the best results, for if you know precisely what you are after, you can set to work more intelligently and more directly to get out of the subject all there is in it for you.

"You could doubtless even now mention a number of valuable results that you have already recognized as arising from the study of Latin. If all the values are gathered together and analyzed, they will be found to arrange themselves into three general groups.

1. "The **Practical Values**, as, for example, the use of Latin in explaining English derivatives, in spelling, etc. In this group the facts of the Latin are used as tools in the mastery of other subjects, English, biology, etc. To learn how to make all possible applications of the Latin involves an examination of the ways in which Latin comes into contact with your daily life outside the Latin class, whether in the classroom of another subject or in your life outside the school. As in the case of any other tool, its value depends upon the facility with which one uses it, upon his accurate knowledge of the facts of the language.

2. "The **Disciplinary Values**, as, for example, the development of the power of careful observation, analysis, reasoning, etc. Two workmen may be equally skillful in the use of a tool, but one may be far superior in discovering new and better ways of using it, or in improving upon it. He possesses not only facility but a certain mental power that enables him to recognize and solve new problems. So not only shall we find ourselves able to use Latin as a tool, but it will develop in us, if

studied in the right way every day, a greater and greater power, which once ours we can employ in solving problems in other fields. We are concerned here not so much with the facts studied as with the methods by which they are studied.

3. "The **Cultural Values**, as, for example, the insight afforded into the civilization of ancient Rome, the development of a feeling for good English, etc. To use a figure from geometry, this value is the complement of the disciplinary. The disciplinary value is intended to sharpen your intellectual faculty; the cultural, to broaden your outlook, widen your horizon, make you able to understand sympathetically and appreciate sincerely things that are outside your daily experience or the narrow boundaries of your customary round of thinking.

"Remember that everything in your lesson is intended to assist you to realize one of these values.

"It must be borne constantly in mind that the values of Latin will not come to you automatically without any effort on your part. On the contrary, it would be entirely possible for a mentally lazy pupil to go through the motions of learning Latin without gaining therefrom any of the values that are found there. To get out of Latin what is waiting for you, you must make deliberate efforts every day to use your Latin, to apply outside your Latin class what you learn in it."

THE HUMOR OF THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY¹

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This is the day of anthologies. And for a good reason. It is a day of great activity in verse. The anthology has no place until the bulk of poetry becomes so large that the average man can read only a small part of the output. Of course he wants the best. Since, by hypothesis, he is not in a position to select it for himself, someone must select it for him.

Such was the case at the time when the anthology was invented by the Greek Meleager, himself a poet of no mean ability. He lived at Gadara in Syria, about a hundred years before the Gada-
renes, indignant at the loss of certain valuable hogs, besought the Savior of men to depart out of their coasts. Within the next five hundred years three other anthologies were built around his own. More important than these was the work of Constantinus Cephalas (911-959), who summed up all previous anthologies in a collection which is known as the Greek or Palatine Anthology. Four hundred years after its publication it was egregiously Bowdlerized and published with comparatively valueless additions by Maximus Planudes. The Planudes Anthology quite displaced its predecessor, which disappeared from sight, lost, to all appearances, irretrievably. In 1606, it was brought to light by an unexpected event. Claude de Saumaise, a young Burgundian, fated years after, under the name of Salmasius, to serve as a receptacle for Milton's vituperation—and to give as good as he received—came to Heidelberg to pursue his studies. He was an enthusiastic student; in fact, he well-nigh put a premature end to his career by reading all night long, two nights out of three. In the library of the Counts Palatine he was lucky enough to run across a manuscript of the long-lost anthology of Cephalas and, at the age of eighteen, was scholar enough to recognize the value of his find.

¹A paper read at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England, April 2, 1920.

Since then the mutilated Planudes Anthology, though it contains some material not in the older collection, has ceased to be of prime importance.

The Palatine Anthology, as it is called from the library of the Counts Palatine where Salmasius found it and where, after long travels between 1623 and 1815, it now reposes, contains some 2,813 pieces, fully 90 per cent of which are in elegiac meter. A complete edition with prose translation by Paton is now being published. Many of the poems in the collection have tempted some of our best poets to try their hands at English versions and several anthologies of this anthology have been published in English.

The sixth main section, however, is devoted to irrisory and convivial poems and these have been relatively little translated. From a literary point of view they form the least valuable part of the collection. They have little of beauty and they are not characteristically Greek, but tend rather to follow the Latin type of epigram as Martial exemplifies it. An old couplet runs thus:

Three things must epigrams, like bees, have all,—
A sting and honey and a body small.

The epigram of the Latin type often affords very little honey. The sting in the tail is its most prominent characteristic. Often the translator's task is best fulfilled if he first render the last line of his original and then build on the rest of the epigram, much as Odysseus selected a good, likely bedpost and proceeded to build around it his bed and bedroom. In the true Greek epigram, on the other hand, the humor is pervasive, not massed at the end.

Of course humor is by no means confined to the distinctly irrisory epigrams. Like summer lightning it plays throughout the collection, now in some bright little description of a work of art, now in an apostrophe to some beast of the field, now even in an epitaph. The amatory epigrams contain many quaintly humorous bits along with a vast amount of humor of an extremely equivocal character, but my limits quite forbid for the present any excursion into that field. One cannot generalize upon the humor of a collection that ranges over a millennium and a half and includes the work of men who, though they wrote in Greek, belonged to widely

different nationalities. The utmost that seems possible is to give some notion of the types of humor that appear in this cosmopolitan collection. There are some few things which excite the risibilities of all periods and all races. A much larger number have always appealed to men of our own Aryan race and our type of civilization. Some very old jokes are still going strong. The skit on the fashionable lady whose hair is all her own and paid for, has a familiar sound, and the story of the serpent that bit a Cappadocian dame and died of the effects, suggests the lines of a modern humorist:

The man recovered of the bite,
The dog it was that died.

A fundamental type of humor is the humor of unexpectedness, which may depend on a verbal turn, a monstrous exaggeration, or that quaint upsidedownness by which Aristophanes secured some of his happiest effects. Take, for example, this epigram of Lucian, far better known as a humorist in prose:

Acindynus was on the water wagon;
Everyone else was deep in liquor sunk.
But in a crowd where each man had a jag on,
The sober member seemed the only drunk [xi. 429].

An unexpected turn is given to a familiar phrase like the wish "Light rest the earth upon thee," which is so frequently found upon tombstones. Agathias, in the sixth century A.D., wrote an epigram in which he describes in ornate and highly colored language the ways of a tame partridge. The poor bird, or an essential portion of it, exchanged the interior of its cage for that of a fellow-pet and its demise is dealt with in a manner distinctly less ornate and poetical.

Poor partridge, from the cliff's wild height you reached a strange abode;
Within a woven house of withs your basking wings you showed
Upturned to the resplendent gleam while freshfaced morning glowed.
But nevermore! A wretched cat has bitten off your head.
The rest I rescued and her envious jaw it never fed.
No wish that earth rest on thee light this epitaph contains;
It must be heavy or that cat will dig up your remains [vii. 204].

This epigram illustrates that type of humor which begins on an exalted plane and then drops to earth with a thud. It also ex-

emphasizes the humorous kindly way in which many epigrams of the anthology deal with domesticated and even wild animals. The ending of a pet's bright life, swift and irrevocable as man's own, inspired sympathy and demanded the slight memorial of an inscription upon its resting-place. One epitaph begs the passerby not to laugh though it be but a dog's grave.

There is a corresponding feeling of sympathy with the daily life of the beast and its struggle for existence. One epigram has something of the humor of Burns and strongly suggests his tender lines to the field mouse whose housing problem has been made acute and whose plans have gone agley through the poet's unwilling agency. In the Greek epigram a poor scholar remonstrates with a misguided mouse which has invaded his garret in search of food. He assures the wee beastie that it will find there nothing edible except books and to touch a tooth to these would harden the scholar's heart against it with consequences undefined but doubtless sufficiently dire.

Friend mouse, if you've come here for bread,
I'm frank to say there's nothing doing.
These quarters scarcely hold my bed.
To other stores you'd best be going.
There cheese and raisins you might get;
A heap of scraps you might diminish.
If on my books your teeth you whet,
Your feast will have a sorry finish [vi. 303].

From a scholar, something, however little, might be expected. From a miser, not even a mouse is so fatuous as to suppose that anything edible can be forthcoming.

A mouse came into a miser's house,
"Now what are you after, my dearest mouse?"
The mouse with a smile said "Don't you fear;
We want no board, only lodging here" [xi. 391].

A chattering grasshopper stirs the sympathy of Evenus, a poet of the Roman period, who thus addresses its swallow-captor in its behalf.

Attic maid, on honey fed, chattering through the air,
What a chattering object this in your beak you bear?
To your fledgelings in the nest bringing such a feast,

Just a luscious grasshopper, noisy little beast.
 He's a chatterer, you are too; you have wings, so he;
 He's a guest of summertime; you're the same, you see.
 Better drop him right away, 't isn't right or fair
 Singer ever should devour such a singer rare [ix. 122].

The same poet gives us this version of the well-worn theme of the vine's revenge upon the young goat that well-nigh eats the life out of it. The vine speaks:

O you kid!
 Though you do gnaw me to the root,
 Yet will I bear sufficient fruit
 For a libation rich and nice
 The day you're led to sacrifice.
 Oh you—kid! [ix. 75.]

The antics of the drunk have always aroused the risibilities of the sober from the day that the patriarch Noah so violently reacted from his long ride on the first water wagon, down to the extinction of the American branch of the Barleycorn family. Drunken men have been portrayed on the stage from the days of the Greek satyr play, and the humor of conviviality runs through literature like a wet streak across the Sahara. The maudlin affection of the once popular

Little brown jug, how I love thee!

can be paralleled repeatedly from the anthology. The Greek toper loves his bottle, but with all his extravagant expressions of affection he harbors a serious complaint against it.

Roundbellied, well shaped, one-eared long-necker—
 O the gurgling and the bubbling within your narrow throat!
 Merry thrall of Venus, of Bacchus and the Muses,
 Sweetly smiling sharer of the revel's jolly note:
 When I'm full and happy you have nothing in your belly;
 When you're full, the thing's reversed, I'm sober as can be!
 What a violation of the holy laws of drinking!
 Be a decent fellow now and keep me company [v. 135].

The same idea lies at the root of the toper's dedication to Bacchus:

O Bacchus, a drunkard presents thee this flask!
 It's empty, of course; you might scowl for a minute;

But take it with kindness, it's all you can ask;
I never could have one with anything in it [vi. 77].

Anacreon, the sixth-century lyrist, died with a reputation for conviviality and while his body lay mouldering in the grave, his reputation went marching on through long generations. A late epigram of unknown authorship expresses his supposed feelings as he lies in his grave.

Oh stranger, passing by my grave,
An act of mercy use.
Anacreon lies buried here;
Pray render me my dues.
Pour on my grave a little wine;
I still am fond of booze [vii. 28].

This may be all very well, but another unknown poet shows us a more excellent way.

Come not when I am dead
To lavish myrrh and garland on my grave.
For me no flame be fed;
The cost of all such truck you'd better save.
But while I'm living yet,
Bestow your gifts, 'tis then they'll come in pat.
If wine my ashes wet,
You'll just make mud and I'll drink none of that [xi. 8].

The more serious aspect of the hopes and fears of the ancients as revealed in their sepulchral epigrams has no place in this paper. Only when the future life is viewed more or less skeptically, or at least trivially, does humor appear. "There's not much to relate," says an epigram in dialogue form, "but if you want to perpetuate the old hoax you may say that I have undergone a Pythagorean transformation."

"Does Charidas beneath thee rest, thou monument of stone?"
"Yes, if you mean Arimmas' son, in far Cyrene known."
"O Charidas! what's there below?" "Vast darkness greets the eye."
"And do you spirits rise again?" "No, that is all a lie."
"How about Pluto?" "He's a myth, we perish utterly."
This word of mine is solemn truth, if any truth there be.
But if you want a pleasant tale, Pythagoraslike, to tell,
Why, say I am a large-sized ox, agrazing here in Hell" [vii. 524].

If a future life is believed in, it is infrequently a pleasant prospect. At best Hades is a place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest—a place where the harsh noises of this world are hushed at last

And silence like a poultice comes
To heal the blows of sound.

But of what avail to enter its portals, if the nuisances of earth are to pursue us thither? Think of a heaven where the harps have been replaced by instruments of percussion and all the music is jazz! The horrid thought may justify the dismay of the grammarian Lucilius, who lived under Nero and recoiled from the thought of an eternity spent within earshot of the popular ditties that assaulted his fastidious ear at Rome.

And so Eutychides is dead!
The maker of bad songs is fled.
Inhabitant of Hell, flee too!
He's going to bring his songs to you!
He left directions when he died
Twelve lyres to cremate by his side.
With five and twenty chests of tunes
Charon's now entering your lagoons.
O where in Hell is refuge please,
When Hell contains Eutychides? [xi. 133.]

Is it possible that the poet was thinking of his royal master, the imperial amateur Nero?

The anthology contains some neat innuendo which often suggests dark scandal in the most innocent and offhand way. The accusation may be couched in the form of a defense against a minor charge.

They tell me, Nicylla, you color your hair
With the darkest of dye.
That's nonsense! I know it's as naturally black—
As money could buy [xi. 68].

By a hint equally dark and even more mischievous, Lucilius manages to suggest a family skeleton in the house of Eutychus, the portrait painter, who never got a passable likeness even among his twenty sons. The following version, it were well to admit, develops the innuendo a little more clearly than it appears in the original:

Painter Eutychus was never good at portraits,
 But, knowing Mrs. E., I have a hunch,
 Why, when Eutychus had twenty lads around him,
 He had failed to get a likeness in the bunch [xi. 215].

Skits on occupations are perhaps relatively as numerous as the jibes of today on doctors, ministers, actors, barbers, artists, musicians, lawyers, yes—for to your humorist absolutely nothing is sacred—even professors. Dr. Johnson is credited with the familiar lines:

Swans sing before they die; 'twere no bad thing
 Did certain persons die before they sing.

A different relation between song and death is rather neatly put by Nicarchus.

The night raven's song is unlucky;
 'Twill strike a man dead, I suppose.
 But—the fitness of things!—when Demophilus sings,
 The night raven turns up its toes [x. 86].

This same Nicarchus was especially fond of skits on physicians.

Last night Doc Mark on a god's stone
 Just made a friendly call,
 Today, though it's stone and a god to boot,
 They hold its funeral [xi. 113].

His contemporary Lucilius takes his shot thus:

Diophantus had a dream—a warning;
 Dr. Quack was standing by his head.
 Diophantus never saw the morning,
 Though he had a horseshoe in his bed [xi. 257].

Then there is the prophet who is wise only after the event.

Prophets all assured my father
 Of his brother's great longevity.
 "Nay," said Hermocles, "rather
 I foretell his lifetime's brevity."
 (We had, just an hour before,
 Hung the crape on uncle's door) [xi. 159].

The preacher of ancient times was the philosopher. He holds doctrines, peculiar and strict, on which he insists in season and out of season but which he is not always careful to practice. The

Pythagorean, for example, must hold religiously aloof from eating anything that has life. But there were dark suspicions abroad that he indulged in certain convenient reservations.

You eat nothing that has life?
 Nor do I!
 Who does swallow things alive,
 By the by?
 When they're boiled or roasted brown,
 Pickled too,
 Then I'll eat what has no life—
 Same as you! [vii. 121.]

The professor, always legitimate prey in our time, does not escape in the anthology. We have a skit on the man whose courses are not popular. He has only seven in his lecture-room—three benches and four walls, to be explicit.¹ Lucilius describes the reluctance of Pluto to receive into the nether realms the ghost of Professor Marcus whose chair of rhetoric death has declared vacant. The professor finally secures admission by engaging to lecture to Ixion on his wheel and to the liver-bitten Tityus, as a sort of alternative torture (xi. 143).

Passing to the professor's antithesis and natural enemy, we find a class of epigrams on athletes, especially slow athletes. I have space for only one, on a runner who was shut up in the stadium all night and had not quite reached the finish when the gates were opened next morning.

'Twas midnight and the hoplite race
 Had ended in the afternoon.
 Deserted lay the running place,
 Fast locked, beneath the moon.

Marcus was left behind in peace,
 Still on the track alone,
 So still, he seemed to the police
 A hoplite carved in stone.

Next day the gates flung open wide.
 With slowly narrowing gap,

¹ Not in the Palatine Anthology but derived from the argument to the Panathenaic oration of Aristides of Smyrna.

Marcus the slow was found inside,
Short of the goal one lap! [xi. 85.]

Humorous portrayal of physical defect is common from Homer's Thersites and the Socrates of Aristophanes and it abounds in the anthology.

In an epigram of Lucilius we may recognize the original of the limerick anent

the young lady of Lynn,
Who was so exceedingly thin
That when she essayed
To drink lemonade
She slipped through the straw—and fell in.

In this characteristically American humor of exaggeration, the American leaves his ancient model hopelessly in the rear. I modernize slightly the long Greek names.

Dora was so very thin,
When Teddy fanned her face,
When she lay in slumber wrapped,
He blew her into space [xi. 101].

Lucilius has left us also an epigram on the valor and self-importance of the Lilliputian Macro (Mr. Long), with a reference to the exploit of the infant prodigy Heracles against the snakes that were sent to destroy him in his cradle.

Macro is such a little chap.
One day he fell asleep;
A field mouse dragged him by the foot,
To add him to its heap.

He choked that mouse inside its den,
Barehanded. Then he said,
"You need no longer worry, Zeus,
If Heracles is dead" [xi. 95].

This is quite of a piece with the same writer's description of Hermogenes, who was so tiny that when he had put anything on the ground and then wanted to recover it, he had to use a hook on the end of a pole to drag it down to where he could reach it (xi. 89).

This comic valentine style of extravagance is further illustrated by the epigram on Nikon's nose. It has swamped its possessor,

who has sunk to the position of a mere appendage to his own nose.

Here comes Nicon's nose,
 Good old Roman style.
 Soon *he'll* come, let's wait a bit;
 He's within the mile.
 See it stalking bravely on
 In its pride and power.
 We shall see himself—if we
 Climb the Woolworth Tower [xi. 406].

Few things are more pathetic, or more comical, than the way in which the deaf, bravely or stubbornly refusing to admit their defect, talk at cross-purposes. Nicarchus imagines a situation in which three deaf men participate:

One deaf man haled another into court;
 The judge was of an even deafer sort.
 One claimed the other owed him five months' rent;
 "I ground my corn at night," the answer went.
 The judge said "She's your mother, lads; pray do
 Support her peaceably between you two" [xi. 251].

One epigram so strongly suggests the modern umbrella joke that in my paraphrase I have ventured to substitute an umbrella for the cushion of the original and to insert a non-Hellenic proper name. The Greek or Roman who left his home at dawn to put in ten hours on the stone seats of the theater or the circus was considerably less sore when he came to the end of his perfect day, if he had provided himself with a cushion. And he would do well to guard it with jealous care, especially if it were new or otherwise endowed with special attractiveness.

McCarthy set eyes on my fine new umbrella.
 A beauty it was—ah, the pain!
 From that day to this I have never set eyes on
 My fine new umbrella again! [xi. 315.]

WHERE DID CAESAR DEFEAT THE USIPETES AND TENCTERI?

BY ARTHUR TAPPAN WALKER
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In the fourth book of his *Gallic War* Caesar tells us that two German tribes, the Usipetes and Tencteri, crossed the Rhine in the territory of the Menapii and were routed by Caesar at a spot from which the survivors fled to the junction of the Meuse and the Rhine, therefore of course somewhere near that junction. But Mr. Holmes, in his *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, pp. 689-706, follows Merivale, Long, Von Göler, and others in locating the defeat near the junction of the Moselle and the Rhine, that is, somewhere near Coblenz. Mr. Holmes' authority is beginning to bring this view into our American school editions. Other junctions of rivers have been proposed, but no such suggestion has won sufficient approval to make it worth discussing.

The manuscripts agree perfectly in naming the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine. Mr. Holmes, while accepting the other confluence, says: "Our decision flatly contradicts the MSS. of the Commentaries. We must assume either that Caesar wrote *Mosae* when he meant *Mosellae*, or that he wrote *Mosellae*, but that some blundering copyist put *Mosae* instead." This decision of Mr. Holmes is based on what he regards as insuperable difficulties in Caesar's narrative if we accept the manuscript reading of this passage. My purpose is to show that not one of these difficulties is real, and that the defeat therefore took place where the manuscripts put it, near the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine. Napoleon locates it definitely "on the river Niers, in the plains of Goch," not, as Mr. Holmes erroneously says, eight miles north or northwest of that point. Goch seems to me entirely reasonable, but the data do not permit such accuracy. Therefore in defending Napoleon's general account of the campaign I do not commit myself to a defense of that exact spot.

Because my paper is necessarily a sweeping criticism of Mr. Holmes' discussion of this question, I wish to preface it by an expression of sincere admiration for his work. It is superfluous to say that no student of Caesar can escape the deepest obligation to him. Even when one is forced to disagree with his conclusions, Mr. Holmes usually, by his fair and accurate statement of the evidence, has himself furnished the grounds on which one may base his own conclusion. But his treatment of this question seems to me both careless and unfair, and his second edition gives no evidence of a thorough-going revision of it.

Mr. Holmes speaks of the whole question as "the most complicated and difficult that Caesar's memoirs present," but it seems to me that most of the complexity has been put into it by the commentators, and chiefly by Mr. Holmes. The main action took place in a little-known, flat, and featureless locality, where there were probably no towns of any size; therefore Caesar gives no topographical data except the confluence. But his story is plain and straight-forward, unless one misinterprets one sentence. The facts essential for our purpose are as follows:

The Germans crossed the Rhine "not far from the sea." Mr. Holmes and Napoleon agree that this was a few miles above the island of the Batavi. They spent the winter among the Menapii, near the point of crossing. Certain Gallic tribes, recognizing the military value of such allies, offered them lands. "*Qua spe adducti Germani latius iam vagabantur*," and had reached the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi, that is, the neighborhood of Liege; but most of the cavalry went on a raid west of the Meuse. The meaning of "*latius vagabantur*" is to be discussed later. Napoleon understands that the Germans merely sent out reconnoitering parties, the main body remaining among the Menapii; in which case there is no difficulty. Caesar concentrated his army, perhaps at Amiens, and marched toward the Germans, probably crossing the Meuse a little north of Liege. When he was three or four days march from them, German envoys met him and asked for lands. Caesar refused them land in Gaul, but said they might settle among the Ubii, for there were Ubian envoys in his camp asking for help against the Suebi, and he would

give them orders. The envoys of the Usipetes and Tencteri asked him to halt for three days so that they might consult their chiefs, but Caesar refused, believing that they were trying to gain time for the return of their cavalry. Then follows in Chapter 10 a description of the Meuse, the Rhine, and their confluence; but the chapter is of doubtful authenticity. When Caesar was about twelve miles from the Germans, the envoys returned and asked three days truce for the purpose of sending envoys to the Ubii, promising to settle among the Ubii if the latter should consent. Caesar agreed to a truce for the rest of the day and to a further conference on the next day. But a treacherous attack on his cavalry led him to make a still more treacherous attack on the German camp the next day. The fugitives, pursued by cavalry, fled to the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, threw themselves into the water, and there perished.

Where was the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine in Caesar's day? The answer to this question is important, because one of the chief objections to locating the battle near this confluence is the proposal of the Germans to send envoys to the Ubii and back in three days. The Ubii possessed the eastern bank of the Rhine, and Mr. Holmes believes their northern frontier lay between Bonn and Cologne, some 70 miles in a direct line from Goch, nearly 60 miles from the point at which the proposal was made. The farther northwest we place the confluence the greater the difficulty. The Rhine divides at what Caesar's Chapter 10 calls the island of the Batavi, and its southern branch was called the Vacalus, the modern Waal. The Waal and the Meuse flow roughly parallel for a considerable distance, and today they join at Gorkum, perhaps 40 miles in a straight line from the sea. But Gorkum is too far from Goch to have been reached by the fugitives; so that if we place the confluence there we must put the battlefield some 20 or 25 miles northwest of Napoleon's location and must increase the proposed ride of the envoys by the same distance. But the junction was probably not at Gorkum in Caesar's day.

The full discussion of this preliminary question is the one inherently complicated and difficult part of the whole. The flat,

alluvial country shows traces of old river-beds, a study of which leads investigators to divergent beliefs. The confluence is described in Chapter 10, but the text of the description is confused and has been variously restored by the editors. And, to cap the climax, the authenticity of the whole chapter is disputed on many grounds.

Fortunately, so far as concerns our purpose, the complicated discussion of these points is a mere smoke screen. The chapter is probably an interpolation, but an early one; therefore it at least describes the confluence as it was not long after Caesar's time. Although the editors give many readings of the passage which describes the confluence, Mr. Holmes concludes his discussion of the text by saying: "Whatever reading we adopt, unless it be Nipperdey's conjecture, the interpolator places the junction, or a junction, of the Meuse and the Waal at a point about 80 Roman miles from the sea." However unsatisfactory the evidence of the old river-beds may be, one certain fact is that for a long period prior to a great flood in 1856 there was a junction at Fort St. Andries, some 60 miles from the sea in a straight line. Allowing for the windings of the river, this corresponds with the statement of Chapter 10 that the confluence was not more than 80 Roman miles from the sea. Mr. Holmes concludes his discussion of this point with the grudging admission that the Meuse "may have been linked to the Waal at Fort St. Andries as well" as at Gorkum. I should go further. Since there was a junction there for a long time, since a description of about Caesar's time puts one thereabouts, and since that point meets the requirements of Caesar's story, I think the junction was probably there. At any rate, I can not follow Mr. Holmes in considering the necessity of putting it there an objection to accepting the reading of Caesar's manuscripts.

On pp. 701 ff. Mr. Holmes sums up what he regards as the vital points of his discussion. He there states six objections to locating the rout near the junction of the Meuse and the Rhine, of which four seem to him "serious." In the preceding paragraph I have given my opinion of one which he does not regard as serious. The other is: "We are obliged to assume that when Dion

Cassius said that the Germans invaded the country of the Treveri, he either included the Condrusi and Eburones among the Treveri or simply made a blunder." But I turn one page and find him saying, in another connection, "Dion, whose authority is nil, merely says," etc. I believe the way is now clear for a discussion of the four "serious" objections.

The first is that in Chapter 15 Caesar would have spoken of the junction of the Meuse and the Vacalus, not the Meuse and the Rhine, if he had meant that junction. Why? Because in Chapter 10 he has told us that the southern branch of the Rhine is called Vacalus. Now it is immaterial for my purpose whether Caesar wrote Chapter 10 or not: I merely insist that he either did or did not. Whoever wrote it must, I think, have believed that the rout took place near that junction; and if Caesar wrote it I should consider the whole question settled. I should then point out that in Chapter 10 Caesar had called the Vacalus "*pars ex Rheno*" and might therefore refer to it later as the Rhine. But Mr. Holmes believes that Caesar did not write Chapter 10. In that case Caesar nowhere mentions the Vacalus. Even supposing he knew the name, why should he use it without explanation for Roman readers who certainly did not know it?

Mr. Holmes' second serious objection is based on 6, 4: "*Qua spe adducti Germani latius iam vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Treverorum clientes, pervenerant.*" As was said before, this means that some or all of the Germans, except the cavalry, had reached the neighborhood of Liege. If we understand, with Mr. Holmes, that the main body reached that point, we meet the difficulty that, although nothing is said of their further movements, the rout occurred either among the Menapii or near Coblenz. Mr. Holmes states his objection to the northern location as follows: "We are obliged to assume that the Germans retreated before Caesar, or on receiving the first news of his approach, from the positions which they had taken up in the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi to the country of the Menapii, which they had recently left; unless indeed we accept General Creuly's desperate theory, that those who had penetrated into the territories of the Eburones and Condrusi were only a reconnoitring party."

I shall give a reason for accepting General Creuly's "desperate theory"; but first I wish to point out that, if we accept Mr. Holmes' interpretation, it is at least equally difficult to understand how and why the Germans got near Coblenz. They had to cross the Ardennes forest, where Napoleon says there are no traces of ancient roads; and the country into which they went was admittedly broken and unproductive, incapable of furnishing supplies to such a multitude. If they were retreating, they were going directly away from the most efficient part of their fighting strength, their cavalry, and into a country where it could not operate effectively if it rejoined them. If they were thinking of recrossing the Rhine they might much better have gone back to the point at which they crossed originally. If, in accordance with a predetermined plan, they were moving into land which they expected to occupy, they had made a poor choice of location and were taking a strange route to get there. Mr. Holmes tries to disguise this latter point by saying, "First, we see the German hosts marching southward into the district of Condroz and the neighboring country of the Eburones. A few marches further southward would bring them to the neighborhood of Coblenz." To appreciate this one must look at a map, preferably Mr. Holmes' own map. The district of Condroz lies southwest of Liege, just where Mr. Holmes puts the Condrusi. If the Germans marched from the Menapii to the Condrusi, then toward Coblenz, they turned more than a right angle, probably an angle of 110° .

But I do not believe the main body ever left the Menapii. Napoleon follows General Creuly in believing that only reconnoitring parties went out, and that certainly seems a sensible thing for the Germans. "*Latius vagabantur*" seems a strange expression for what must have been a pretty direct march of some 80 miles from the Menapii to Liege. I think Mr. Holmes failed to consider a parallel expression in 1, 2, 4. Caesar has there named the barriers which hemmed in the Helvetii and says, "*His rebus fiebat ut et minus late vagarentur*." Those words certainly mean that the Helvetii were restricted in sending out raiding parties. Since "*minus late vagarentur*" surely refers to sending out parties, "*latius vagabantur*" should, or at least may, refer to the same thing. Then the passage gives no trouble.

The third serious objection is based on the proposal to send envoys to the Ubii and get their reply in three days. Mr. Holmes says: "Assuming, with Napoleon, that when the German convoys asked for three days grace they were at Straelen, the distance, in a straight line, to the frontier of the Ubii and back was not less than 100 miles, which, if the envoys had meant what they said, their mounted messengers might have covered in three days. But this calculation assumes that the chiefs of the Ubii would have been found waiting on their northern frontier, and that the business of negotiation could have been settled off-hand, both of which assumptions are absurd." And in summing up he says we are obliged to assume that the German envoys "were offering to perform a manifest impossibility, and that, unless they were talking wildly, their sole object was to gain time,—in which case they would surely have asked for more than three days, unless indeed they knew that their cavalry would rejoin them within that time."

The desire of the Germans to ascertain the feelings of the Ubii was perfectly natural, and I see no reason to doubt that they made the request in good faith. If, however, they were merely trying to gain time, they must have been too shrewd to offer to perform a manifest impossibility. Therefore, whatever our opinion of their good faith, it must be shown that their plan was feasible from a point near Goch.

The time needed for the actual ride seems exaggerated by Mr. Holmes in this discussion. He concedes that the Germans might have ridden 100 miles in three days. But on p. 207 of his first edition he tells us that Archibald Forbes once rode 110 miles in 20 hours. The *United States Cavalry Drill Regulations* says that a body of cavalry in good condition can march 50 miles a day for several successive days. Articles by Major Henry Romeyn in the *Outlook* for 1904 and by Captain Charles King in Volume 16 of the *Cosmopolitan* will convince anyone that picked men and horses could have covered the distance to the Ubii in one day, even though that distance seems to be somewhat greater than Mr. Holmes makes it. The second day could then have been devoted to the conference, and the return ride could have been made on the

third day. I even believe that at the close of the first day the envoys would have been in excellent condition for the truth-revealing drunk which Tacitus tells us was a necessary part of all grave deliberations among the ancient Germans.

But this assumes that the chiefs of the Ubii would have been found waiting near their northwestern frontier, and Mr. Holmes says this is absurd. I think Mr. Holmes failed to see the importance of one fact. At their first interview, three days before the Germans offered to send envoys to the Ubii, Caesar told the envoys that Ubian envoys were in his camp, complaining about the Suebi and asking his assistance (8, 3). In Chapter 16 Caesar tells us further that the Ubian envoys offered to supply boats to transport his army across the Rhine. Therefore the envoys of the Usipetes and Tencteri knew that they could learn from the Ubian envoys where the chiefs could be found; and I think it fair to assume that those chiefs were waiting near the Rhine and their northwestern frontier, because their envoys might return at any time with word that Caesar was approaching and would want the boats at once. Therefore I fail to see any difficulty whatever in the proposal to send envoys to the Ubii.

Mr. Holmes' fourth serious difficulty is that Napoleon's location of the rout is some 70 miles from the point at which Caesar built his bridge, and that Caesar says nothing of "a long march up the Rhine." But no one supposes that the German camp was on the Rhine, so that on any hypothesis Caesar marched some miles without mentioning it; and that Caesar thought a march of 70 miles worth recording seems to me absurd. Mr. Holmes himself points out that if the battle was fought near Coblenz Caesar must have made a long march across the Ardennes without mentioning it. Therefore the difficulty is equally great in either case. Apparently feeling the weakness of this objection Mr. Holmes tries to strengthen it in two ways. In summing up he says: "We are obliged to assume that, after the defeat of the Germans, the Ubii asked Caesar to march at least 70 miles up the valley of the Rhine and to cross the river into their territory; that he did so; that he then marched northward again into the country of the Sugambri; that he then marched southward again into the

country of the Ubii; and all this in spite of the fact that his narrative leaves on our minds the impression that he crossed the Rhine near the spot where he had defeated the Germans." I admit that if one adds up these marches the total is rather impressive; but the statement is fallacious. Caesar made the marches from the Ubii to the Sugambri and back in any case, but they were longer on Mr. Holmes' hypothesis than on Napoleon's. They have nothing whatever to do with the case, and Mr. Holmes might just as reasonably have asked us to add in the march from the bridge to his sailing point for Britain, as he actually did in his first edition. His other attempt to make the 70 miles seem impressive appears in the following statement: "The Ubii ask Caesar to bring his army into their country; and it is hardly credible that they should have expected him to march 90 Roman miles before he could cross the Rhine." But the Ubii did just that thing, whatever Mr. Holmes thinks of their boldness. The statement is another result of his failure to notice the time when the Ubian envoys went to him. Those envoys were with him and had made their request at the time of Caesar's first conference with the envoys of the Usipetes and Tencteri. We do not know the place of meeting, but it must have been at about the time Caesar crossed the Meuse, and that is about 90 miles from the Rhine. Moreover, we can not suppose that they had happened in on that very day. Since they can not have known of his movements it seems reasonable to conjecture that they had been sent to the council which Caesar called before he began his march; and that would mean that they asked him to march at least 250 miles.

Although I have now discussed all the objections which Mr. Holmes thought worthy of a place in his summary of vital points, I must still mention his concluding statement: "Of one thing I am sure:—the Germans did not flee to the confluence of the Waal and the Meuse. For they would have fled, not westward to Fort St. Andries or Gorkum, but to the nearest point of the Waal." But remember that the Germans were entirely without leaders and were taken by surprise. Their movement was a desperate flight, not a planned retreat. Napoleon believes that Caesar's camp was on the Niers, eight miles up-stream from the

Germans, "since, to the north of the Roer, there exists, between the Rhine and the Meuse, no other watercourse but the Niers."

If so, the attack was delivered from the southeast, and the terror-stricken rabble naturally fled northwest. Evidently the fugitives might have reached the Waal before its junction with the Meuse, and doubtless some did so. But those who knew what their fate would be if they plunged into the river would bear off to the west till they were caught in the angle of the two rivers.

I have now attempted to answer every objection to the northern location which anyone could consider worth discussing. I think no one has ever given any positive argument for locating the rout near Coblenz. If I have answered the objections successfully, there is no argument of any kind for rejecting the unanimous reading of the manuscripts. The Germans fled to the junction of the Meuse and the Rhine.

AN EXPERIMENT IN VOCATIONAL LATIN

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My subject is an experiment in Vocational Latin because so far, in our school, it is entirely in the experimental stage, as will be seen when I explain that it is compulsory for the first two years of high school and that, although we are having the course now for the third year, it has been compulsory for only two. Stenography, for which it is supposed to prepare, does not begin until the Junior year, so there are only a very few pupils, so few as to be really negligible, who have had Vocational Latin and are now taking stenography. So as it is not possible to say that we have attained the results at which we are aiming, I will try to show just what the subject is, what we have attained so far, and what we hope for in the future.

In the first place I must explain that our material, on the average, is poor. There are cases of bright and enterprising children who take the Commercial Course, but the majority cannot possibly cover the ground that could be gone over by a pupil in the college course. This is perfectly natural when we realize that these children have, as a rule, no background whatever. To us who were read to as children, then read to ourselves, studied Latin and perhaps Greek, a new word presents no formidable difficulties. Unconsciously we pick it to pieces, fit it together, and trace the meaning. But they come from homes, for the most part, of little culture, where English is poorly spoken. All that they have they have received from school where they are taught in large classes, and we all know how faulty are their grammar and spelling when they reach the High School. With us, as I suppose in many schools, the Commercial Course is too often recruited from the children who are mentally unfit for college and think that an office will solve the problem.

Now by teaching Vocational Latin, we hope to create, as far as possible, this background which is so often lacking with Com-

mercial pupils. If they know enough Latin so that they will recognize the roots underlying our English words there will be something to fall back upon, something which gives coherence and connection to our English tongue. Our definite aims are to teach spelling, grammar, and the recognition of new words, besides the enriching of their own vocabularies. Incidentally they grow very familiar with the use of the English dictionary and are constantly drilled in exact thinking. In explaining our methods, I will try to show how we are aiming at these results.

Speaking of our methods, it must be confessed at once that they are by no means fixed; what we do one year, we modify another year, and do not yet feel that we may not find better things still to do. My colleague and I are pursuing in general the same course and plan to go over the same ground, but we consult with each other and are quite ready to use each other's ideas. In the main our methods are as follows. In the first year we go about half through the Beginners' Book (we use Mr. Perkins' book as being best adapted to this phase of Latin). They learn the declensions and conjugations and the rules, but with less drill than the college sections. The main stress is laid upon the derivation of words found in the vocabularies. Each child is provided with an English dictionary in his desk and another one for home work if there is none in the family. Besides that, he has a note book and an index book. In the note book he writes the Latin word and beneath it the English derivatives with their meanings. After a few weeks he is given a list of prefixes to paste inside the note book. The first year we insisted upon their finding many words from every Latin word, but it made the derivative work a burden, so now we use various methods, as insisting upon one English from every Latin word, or several from three or four. They simply look up the Latin base in the English dictionary and have little trouble in finding words. We have now dictionaries which give the Latin derivatives, but the pupils can do it very well using the others, going merely by the spelling and the sense. The finding of words with prefixes is encouraged—they are often our commonest words—but they are much harder to find as one can hardly expect a child to try every prefix on every word.

It is amazing to a person, until he has become involved in teaching Vocational Latin, to find how misleading the dictionary is, and the most difficult part of the derivation work is using the English words in sentences. It is here that the children find the dictionary far from helpful, and a teacher is hard put to it to explain why a word cannot be used in place of another word which is given to explain it. For instance, the dictionary defines "retrogression" as "a going backward," so the pupil is perfectly justified, who wrote, "The retrogression of the automobile was because of a puncture." Then there are simply ignorant mistakes, as of the child who was to use a derivative of *curro*, run, and wrote "The boy was made with curate legs," or of another who, in giving a derivative of *caro*, flesh, wrote "The boy donated the gift with a carnivorous feeling," and still another who, in connection with *capillus*, hair, wrote about a "capillary cat."

Grammar is taught by the use of the words in sentences. The freshman is very likely to use everything as a verb, for instance, in explaining the word "removal" to say "Removal is a noun, coming from *re*, back, and *moveo*, move. It therefore means "To move back." It takes long and persistent drill to break them of this habit. Spelling comes, to some extent, incidentally, but we call attention now and then to the connection between the two languages in this respect. They see why some adjectives end in *able* and others in *ible*, why "commiserate" must have two *m*'s and so on.

The second year is much like the first, but we try to make a few differences to prevent too much monotony. They finish the *Beginners' Book*, but do not take up the more complex rules, except to read over and discuss. They will never really need them, as in neither year do they take up English into Latin sentences, and so discussion of them should be enough to make the conjunctions and cases seem slightly familiar when they come across them in reading. They translate the mottoes and proverbs at the end of the book, which are interesting to talk over and are sometimes familiar to them in English or Latin. Then they do much more translation than the freshmen. The latter take up some of the Latin sentences, but we find that for them they have

to be simplified. The sophomores on the other hand can read the sentences and read other easy Latin, whatever seems interesting and adapted to their needs. "Robinson Crusoe" at the back of the book, is entertaining and the Gradatim makes good reading to lead up to it. A valuable part of their course is the learning of long lists of English suffixes which definitely fix the part of speech of the words they derive.

A part of the subject very interesting to the pupils is finding the connection between Latin and every day life. "Lux" is their great delight, for they have it early in the vocabularies and see it often in advertisements. In connection with "acer," a small boy found "aceticum acidum." Then last year there was a boy in class who worked in a grocery store and apparently used to devote his spare time to examining cans for Latin. It was he who found "farina." Then there is Chase & Sanborn's "Ne cede malis," Ginter's "Luxuria cum Economia," S. S. Pierce's "Puritas et Cura," and an amazingly large number of others. One girl found a Latin motto in a hat which she was trying on in a store, and the other day we had a puzzle in the form of "Unicum hair nets." Finally one of the girls solved it by suggesting that it means "one with your hair." We have not yet decided whether "Mavis face powder" comes from "malo," but as they had found no other derivative, they were inclined to hope it did.

We keep on a bulletin board the advertisements that they bring. Then on the blackboard they have a space where they write all the words that are exactly the same in Latin and English. The college classes have a perfect right to this board too, but their opportunities are very much fewer. We have now over two hundred words and are still going on. Of course many of them are most unusual and they cannot remember their meanings, but they never put a word down without knowing at the time what it means. One little girl is now of her own accord plowing her way through the dictionary. So far she has got into the "d's," but the grip has temporarily stopped her. Coins are another source of interest. The English coins have Latin inscriptions, but many of the Continental coins are inscribed in the language of the country and rather tax the imagination of a teacher who does not

like to own herself beaten by anything short of Slavic tongues or Chinese.

They often mistake Spanish for Latin and bring in anything from an olive oil can to directions on a patent medicine bottle in the hope that it may turn out to be Latin. It is helpful though, for it gives one a chance to show the connection between Latin and the modern languages and lets them see that they can read a little Spanish themselves.

What is pleasing to us, especially in the absence of direct results owing to the infancy of the subject, is the appreciation of the pupils themselves. They really believe in it and even now see results, which is especially comforting after teaching college preparatory pupils and trying to make them understand what culture means and that the habit of study will help them in the future. Not long ago a junior girl, who had Latin last year, came into my room on an errand and began to talk about Latin. She said voluntarily that she had supposed it was going to help her when she got into an office but that she found it helping her now in her English. She also mentioned another girl in her class who had spoken of the help Latin was to her in history, instancing especially the word "consolidate," the meaning of which Latin had taught her. A short time ago I asked all the sophomore class to write out in a few minutes in class any advantages they had so far found in the study of Vocational Latin. They were not to write things they had been told about unless they had found it true in their own experience. They asked if they might write anonymously and I gave them permission, thinking that the papers would be freer expressions of their feelings. As a matter of fact almost no one availed himself of the permission, apparently because they had nothing they wished to conceal, and all but perhaps two, who were not passing, spoke enthusiastically and definitely of the advantages which they had found in their own experience so far. The papers naturally were very much alike, putting particular stress on the help Latin was giving them in English, in spelling and recognizing new words and in enlarging their vocabularies. Some of them spoke particularly of the list of suffixes as being helpful. One girl wrote that when she began

Latin she had been told that it would help her in spelling, but she had supposed "that was just to make us believe it would do us some good," but she had found it was really true. Further on she wrote:

"Latin mottoes also have helped me. So many books I have read have contained them that I used to skip the books that had any Latin in them. Now I enjoy reading a book with Latin sayings in it, they often express better than the English what is meant."

Another paper pleased me because of the circumstances under which it was written. The boy had wished to drop Latin at the beginning of the second year, but when I consulted his first year teacher and discovered that, although he was not a brilliant pupil, he was perfectly able to keep up in it, I persuaded him to keep on. Let me say in passing that it is natural for the freshmen not to see the advantage of the subject, partly because they have not gone far enough in it and partly because they are too immature, in most cases, to see the correlation between subjects, as they will a year later. This boy writes:

"I have found two distinct helps that Latin has given me. First, it has enabled me to increase my English vocabulary manifold and it is easy to see what a word means that is derived from the Latin, as many of our English words are. The second aid is in the spelling of words. I have always been a fair speller but now words I have never seen or heard I can spell easily, for many are Latin derivatives. Although I am not an A or B student in Latin, I wish to keep on with the subject, as it helps me in other work, chiefly English." In the absence of real results from the Commercial Department, such appreciation is very comforting.

We have one way, however, of finding whether they are measuring up to the standard set for them. Last year and this year, the only times in which we have had a second year class in the subject, the head of the secretarial division of the Commercial Department has sent down material to the head of the Latin Department from which to make a test for the classes. This consists of words which are frequently misspelled or misunderstood. The following

is a specimen examination which was given to the second year classes this winter, when they had had Latin for a year and a half.

Vocational Latin II

I. What is the meaning of the *suffix* in each of the following words and what part of speech does it form? (Take any three.)

transaction, elevator, participate, financial, personality.

II. Show how the knowledge of Latin helps you spell the following words correctly. (Take any three.) Write the Latin word beside the English and underline in each the corresponding letters.

Beneficial, temporal, similarity, laboratory.

III. Explain the derivation of the following. (Take any two.)

prospective, maturity, accurate, progressive.

Show the meaning of each word you select by using it in a sentence.

IV. Show how the knowledge of Latin helps you to distinguish the following similar words. (Take any two sets.)

1. report, import, export, support.

2. impose, expose, depose, propose.

3. proceed, recede, intercede, precede.

V. "But the fact that High Pressure Covering is unaffected by moisture or steam is not its only distinguishing feature. It is from ten per cent to fifteen per cent more efficient as an insulator and will withstand higher temperatures than other coverings. Besides it is just as easy to apply and equally reasonable in price."

1. Write down at least *four*, and not more than *six*, words which you think are Latin derivatives.

2. If you have time, explain the derivation of *two*.

This test was graded, not by the teachers, who have taught Vocational Latin, but by the head of the department, and the forty or fifty pupils passed with only three or four exceptions, even getting many B's and some A's.

Now, although we have not, as you see, had as yet a real opportunity to test the effect of Latin on a pupil studying stenography, we do feel enthusiastic over the results so far and hopeful of the future.

Notes

HOMERICA

On pages 302-3 of the last volume of the *Journal* Professor Scott discusses the saying of Aeschylus about his dramas: *τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δέλτων*. From the context of the quotation, Athenaeus VIII, 347 E, he reaches an interpretation of the saying just the opposite of the one hitherto accepted. The saying means, as Professor Scott argues, that Aeschylus used what Homer left; that "his poems are on subjects which Homer might have chosen but did not." The new interpretation, when tested by the wider rather than the immediate context, is not convincing.

At the point where the quotation occurs, the deipnosophists are considering fishes. The discussion has dragged itself on through the entire seventh book, where the fishes are alphabetically arranged, each fish being a peg on which to hang quotations. At the beginning of Book VIII, Cynulcus shows impatience at the length of the exposition, but before he gets the floor another deipnosophist is recognized and talks for 37 chapters. When at length Cynulcus gets a hearing at the beginning of chapter 39, 347 D, he bursts out with a protest against his predecessors who have constantly talked about small fry but have quite overlooked *τὰ μεγάλα τεμάχη*. After further denouncing those who in this fashion are so occupied with the trivial as to neglect the important, he brings out the saying of Aeschylus which contains the key word *τεμάχη*. It is clear that the word *τεμάχη* is the main consideration and that the speaker is intent upon the word rather than the thought. The context has a lexical rather than a logical significance. To treat Athenaeus by a strict dialectical method, as one might Plato or even Strabo, is putting too great a strain upon a mere compiler.

We have, then, the saying of Aeschylus by itself, a self-interpreting utterance, as distinct as a crystal in a bed of gravel. This saying has always been recognized as the utterance of a great man, bowing to a greater than himself. So understood, the saying has nobility, and possesses the quality which makes it what it has in fact become, a winged word. The new interpretation offered by Professor Scott presses the metaphor unduly, and the net result is a saying quite devoid of nobility. Furthermore, the definition of *τεμάχη* as "large unused portions," is not tenable. The word is quoted here because it means "a large cut of fish." Large portion, yes; but not unused portion. Aristophanes would protest against that statement. This item of the definition is however vital to the new interpretation.

On page 367 of the *Journal* Professor Scott challenges the statement of Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 353: "Antigonos von Karystos im Wunderbuche citirt als homerisch die Thebais." The integrity of the argument which Professor Scott makes is bound up with the integrity of the quotation from which he starts. The complete sentence is: "Antigonos von Karystos im Wunderbuche citirt als homerisch die Thebais und den Her-meshymnos." These last three words are pertinent. In chapter VII of this work of Antigonos, "the poet," who is called *πολυπράγμων*, is credited with

being the author of verse 51 of the Hymn to Hermes. In chapter XXIV "the poet," again called *πολυπράγμων*, is credited with being the author of *Odyssey* 14. 31. When now, in the next following chapter, XXV, "the poet" is credited with being the author of the oft repeated sentiment about the polyp as a type of human character, there can be no doubt that Antigonos has one and the same poet in mind. It is for him "Homer." In geometry two points fix the position of a straight line. Here we have, for good measure, three. Antigonos had, then, an idea of Homer which included more than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In respect of the Homeric Hymn he has good companionship in Thucydides.

The antecedents of the hexameters about the polyp, as found in Antigonos, are not so unknown as Professor Scott argues. This quotation occurs in a purer form in Athenaeus VII. 317 A:

πολύποδός μοι, τέκνον, ἔχων νόον, Ἀμφιλοχ', ἦρως,
τοῖσιν ἐφαρμύξου τῶν κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἴκηται.

It is fair to call this a purer form of the text because of the name Amphiloclus. This name shows that the advice is for a particular case and occasion, whereas Antigonos puts it in a detached and general form. Besides, Antigonos' quotation in chapter VII, from the Hymn, shows at least one sign of having been quoted freely so as to fit the context.

This maxim, which commends the polyp as a model for human conduct, is called by Antigonos *τὸ θρυλούμενον*, "oft repeated." This phrase has some evidential value. Fragment 43 (Bergk) of Pindar echoes the same sentiment. This fragment occurs in Athenaeus XII. 513 C, along with a fragment of the *Iphigenia* of Sophocles and a verse of Theognis, 215, all enforcing polyp morality. Here are three witnesses to the popularity of this saying, two from the fifth century and one from the sixth. On the strength of this evidence Boeckh put these hexameters preserved by Athenaeus at the fountain head, and assigned them to the Thebais. The point of contact is the name Amphiloclus. The occasion is the fateful departure of Amphiaraus to take part in the Theban expedition, and the advice is the farewell word to his son. The lines of evidence converge upon the Thebais or—if we wish not to be committed to a name—upon an epic poem dealing with the Theban story, which poem Antigonos took to be Homeric.

Since so distinguished a place is claimed for these verses, we look again at the passage in Athenaeus, to see if any trace of their source is to be found there. The quotation is introduced by these words: "*ὁμοίως ἱστορεῖ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν δεινῷ περὶ παροιμιῶν παρατιθέμενος τάδε τὰ ἔπη, οὐ δηλῶν δὲ οὗτος ἐστὶ.*" Clearchus, then, quotes the verses without giving the author. That is quite different from: "Athenaeus says that the name of the author is unknown," or "Athenaeus could not name the source." We need not, therefore, believe that the source of these verses is a matter withdrawn from investigation.

The main question is, Did Antigonos mean by "Homer" the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* only? The evidence is that he thought the *Hermes Hymn* "Homeric" and these verses from the Theban story also "Homeric." Homer was to him not a sharply delimited field, like a geometrical figure, but a core of light with a generous penumbra. And therein he agrees with Aeschylus, Thucydides, and with the contemporaries of Herodotus, if not with the historian himself.

EDWARD FITCH.

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Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Berkeley.—About a year ago the initial steps toward organization of a Latin Honor Society at the University of California were taken by three graduate students, Catharine Delamere, Margaret McCully and Elizabeth M. Nutting. At the suggestion of the Latin Department, a nucleus was formed by enrolling all students in residence who had graduated from the university with honors in Latin. By these others were elected, and a constitution was adopted. In order to maintain a high standard, membership has been limited to twenty. It is an index of the grade of scholarship required that over fifty per cent of this year's membership secured election also to Phi Beta Kappa.

The society has been named Pi Sigma. Its aims are: to further interest in the study of the classics among the students of the University of California; to encourage individual work on topics having to do with the study of Latin; and to effect closer relations between the Latin students and the faculty.

Meetings are held monthly, and members of the Latin faculty are invited to attend. Each member presents at least once a year a piece of original work. Some of this year's topics were: "Cooking Utensils at Pompeii"; "Roman Bath Houses"; "Martial, the Funny Man of Rome"; "The Life and Work of St. Augustine," etc. There were also musical programs and a social hour. As a farewell to members about to leave the university, a banquet was given at the close of the year.

It is possible that in other institutions also similar chapters could be organized. Any communications relative to this matter may be addressed to Pi Sigma, care of Box 172, Berkeley, California. All such communications will be transmitted promptly to the secretary or other executive officer.

The sixth annual meeting of the Central Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States was held at the University of California on July 14 and 15. The following program was presented:

Greetings, by Professor Ivan M. Linforth, President;

"Horace, the Artist," Professor Clifton Price, University of California;

"Personal Experiences in the Balkans," Professor H. Rushton Fairclough; Stanford University;

"The Survey of Classical Education under the Auspices of the American Classical League," Professor Herbert C. Nutting, University of California;

"The Need of Latin in the Training of a Student of Law," Professor Samuel Williston, Harvard University;

"The Influence of Plautus and Terence in French Comedy," Monsieur J. G. Clemenceau Le Clerq, University of California;

"Latin and the Romance Languages, Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, University of Pennsylvania.

The interest was good and the attendance large, about seventy being present at one of the sessions.

The University of California is purchasing several sets of the Eastman slides. These, with accompanying lectures, are intended for use primarily in the schools. Teachers of the State who wish to secure information as to the terms on which this material may be shipped to them should apply to Mr. B. B. Rakestraw, Extension Division, University of California.

Oakland.—On May 12th, at the University High School, a dramatic programme was presented by pupils in the Latin classes. The following numbers were included:

Colloquium; a school scene.

De Regina et Equite. (See *Classical Weekly*, XIV, 72.)

A Scene from the *Phormio* (simplified).

Fovea. (See *Classical Journal*, XIV, 176.)

Saccus Malorum (latter part).

The students entered heartily into the action, and the performance was much enjoyed by the audience. Credit for the success of the day is due to Miss Thirsby and Miss Nichols, under whose direction the scenes were staged.

Indiana

Indianapolis.—Classical interests in Indiana suffered a severe loss in the death of Virginia Claybaugh of Shortridge High School, on March 26. Miss Claybaugh was very active in the Classical Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association. She was president one year. Under her direction was presented at one of the Classical Sections a most successful Latin play.

Says the *Indianapolis News*:

"For twenty years, through versatile powers rarely accorded to a teacher, Miss Claybaugh has touched and illumined thousands of lives. For, added to a broad scholarship which she never allowed to become rusty, and to an unflagging zeal for her work, she had the supreme gift of a strong and beautiful personality. Tender in sympathy and wise in her understanding, she never failed to win the respect, the confidence and the affection of her pupils, nor to stimulate in them the finest striving. To the subject of Latin—which is often judged a dull study—she brought a lively enthusiasm and a permanent interest. By employing most original devices daily, and by establishing, constantly, the relationship of the Roman language to the vocabulary of our present work-a-day world she made a dead language live and inspire."

Kansas

Garnett.—For the last two years the Caesar class of Garnett High School has made the building of Caesar's Bridge a practical and also an interesting event of their school work. Instead of the usual custom of having each pupil make a small model of the bridge for classroom exhibit, the suggestion was made and readily accepted by all that we build a real bridge across the creek.

The first year the bridge was built near a large dam and at a place frequented by the people of the town during the summer. Hence the bridge was used as a foot-bridge all summer as a means of crossing the creek until the high water in August took away the top poles.

The second year, which was this last spring, the class went to a clubhouse about ten miles from town to spend the week end and build a bridge. It was built at a ford near the clubhouse and furnished means of crossing to either side without the trouble of always using a boat or a car.

The bridges were built of trees found along the banks of the creek, from three to five inches in diameter, varying according to the purpose for which they were to be used. The *fibulae* were smaller and were bound together with baling wire. The long poles were not interwoven with any "wicker-work" but otherwise the bridge was made according to Caesar's directions. The bridges were each about thirty or thirty-five feet long, over water about three feet deep.

The boys and girls alike were all eager to work in whatever way they could, and the girls proved themselves quite capable of chopping down trees. The classes were very proud of their work and it added greatly to their interest in following Caesar through the various activities of his campaigns.

Missouri

Columbia.—The University of Missouri has just received the library of Abbé Paul Lejay, for so long time professor in the Institut Catholique de Paris. It comprises 6,000 volumes, 1,100 of which have to do with Latin authors. It is especially rich in the literature of Horace and Vergil. It also has fine collections on the Greek side and on the side of comparative philology and patristic literature. The sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are all well represented.

New Hampshire

Rochester.—The senior and junior Latin classes of the high school at Rochester were recently entertained at a Latin party at the home of their teacher, Miss Christine Davis. The invitations were written in Latin and each pupil made his reply in Latin. Everyone was asked to come illustrating a Latin word in the form of a rebus. Several clever illustrations resulted. The Latin *nomen* was represented by a picture of several ladies cut from a fashion plate. One girl cleverly illustrated *Caesar*, following the English pronunciation, by grasping other girls by the arm, *flumen* was represented by the words, "an epidemic," followed by a picture of a group of men. Other words illustrated were: *clamor*, *terquum*, *fama*, *cado*, *dubitatio*, *quattuor*.

Shouting verbs caused an exciting and noisy five minutes when each guest was given a slip of paper with one principal part of a Latin verb. At a

signal, a contest ensued to see which group of four would get together first and shout the principal parts of their verb.

Fifteen advertisements containing pictures were pinned to the wall in different parts of the room. These were numbered. Each guest was given a list of titles in Latin which must be matched with the pictures. The Cream of Wheat Man, serving breakfast, matched with *ser celeriter commeatus*. The title, *impedimenta*, went with an advertisement for trunks.

Charades proved to be the most entertaining of all. Dido on the funeral pyre surrounded by weeping friends, while two girls seated on the floor "rowing," purported to be Aeneas sailing away; Medea scattering the limbs of her brother followed by her lamenting father; Charon on the Styx with the shades on the bank uttering a "thin cry," afforded more laughter than mere "English" charades could possibly do. The syllables of several words were enacted such as: *pectus, hostis, agmen*. The evening ended with refreshments and popular songs. It was the unanimous opinion that the Latin party was really great fun.

Ohio

Delaware.—The Latin Club of Ohio Wesleyan University brought a successful season to a close when on March 11th, the Club gave its annual performance of the Easter morality play, *Christus Triumphator*, arranged by Professor Robinson. The play was staged much more elaborately than last year and was particularly beautiful in the choral portions, which were all rendered with organ accompaniment. On May 2 the Club gave a Roman banquet which was not only a highly successful social function but was also of very distinct educational value. The menu and as many features of the banquet as possible were planned along Roman lines.

The *libum* was made in accordance with the old Roman rule. The guests proceeded to elect the *magister bibendi* in the traditional Roman fashion, whereupon the slaves prepared the *mustum* and water in the mixing bowl before serving the guests. The slaves were dressed in white tunics and added much to the merriment of the occasion as they served the dinner, assisted in the sacrifice to the Lares, and partook of their own repast at a slaves' table in a side room. The banquet room presented a beautiful scene with its Roman lamps and other decorations, including a shrine of the Lares at one side, adorned with foliage and with a lighted taper on either side. Between the *cena* and the *secunda mensa* sacrifice was offered to the Lares and this proved one of the most interesting parts of the ceremonies. During the *comissatio* there was music on stringed instruments and singing by a quartet. A permanent record of the banquet was preserved in the form of a flash-light picture of the festive scene.

Granville.—Miss Harriet Dale Johnson sends us the following account of the Denison Classical Club which has had two successful years. Throughout the past year it has met every two weeks from seven until eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, the hour set aside in the scheme of extra-curriculum activities for departmental organizations. The program occupies the greater part of the hour; if a little time is left at the end, it is devoted to informal social purposes.

Programs are varied. Twice during the year addresses were given by members of the Faculty outside the field of the Classics, one discussing the

signs of the zodiac as understood by classic writers, the other telling of the Campagna in ancient and modern times. With these two exceptions the programs have been in the hands of the students themselves.

One evening was used by Freshman members, who told of their lives in various assumed characters—paterfamilias, young Roman girl, slave girl, school boy, etc. On another evening ten Olympic divinities held a symposium, discussing the status of classic studies in modern times, particularly at Denison. Several plays were given, Lucian's Tenth Dialogue of the Dead, Horace's "Bore," etc. "Pyranus and Thisbe," and "Androclus and the Lion," were presented in pantomime. Accompanying all these were short discussions of the authors whose works were used, of other works of similar or contrasting types, etc. One hour was given to the reading of *Medea*, cut somewhat but preserving the continuity, by one of the club members endowed with a considerable degree of dramatic ability. Two members of the class in Plantus gave as the main feature of one program a number of scenes from the "Captives," in their own translation and adaptation. Two evenings were used in round table discussions; quite a number were occupied with papers and discussions of various sorts.

For the Christmas program a short twelfth century miracle play, *Officium Stellae*, was given in its original Latin, and by the courtesy of the Conservatory several very excellent musical numbers were added. A considerable amount of good music with good Latin words, was used throughout the year, as well as some of the more modern music.

No one of these programs required a great deal of time in preparation; it was the intention that they should not. "A Sicilian Idyl," a charming story in dramatic form by Louis Ledoux, published in the Yale Review a number of years ago, was the only play given in costume; and its stage setting consisted simply in flowers strewed over the floor. Latin songs, *Gaudeamus, vivat Rex Optimus, Integer Vitae*, etc. were sung by the club as a whole at the close of many of the programs.

The usual attendance was approximately 30, with a good proportion of men, the membership enthusiastic, and the interest genuine. The speeches of the out-going and in-coming officers, at the last meeting, could well be construed as a favorable omen for the work of 1921-22.

Warren.—Miss Virginia Reid, teacher of Latin in the Warren Senior High School, writes: "The *Aeneid* Club held four meetings during the second semester, which were all much enjoyed. The first was on Saint Valentine's day, when the following program was given: The Story of Cupid and Psyche; Ode to Psyche; How the Romans Originated Saint Valentine's Day.

After the program, the committee in charge presented each member with a Latin valentine and later served dainty refreshments. The second meeting was held the Friday before Easter and an adaptation of Maurice Hewlitt's "The Ruinous Face" was given. The third meeting was held in a grove on the river bank and scenes from the fourth book of the *Aeneid* were dramatized. After this the club had a picnic. The last meeting took place on senior day. The retiring "Principes" presented the scroll, containing the constitution of the club, to the "Principes Elect." The ceremony was in Latin and attracted much interest from the large audience.

Texas

Houston.—The Latin pupils of South End Junior High School presented in their school auditorium a pageant portraying clearly and strikingly one phase of the Latin contribution to modern languages, and awakening in the minds of pupils and visitors a greater appreciation of that tongue as a living medium of thought. No one at South End now thinks that Latin is a dead language. No one who saw the 200 boys and girls march across the big school stage, each one illustrating a different use of the good old word *ducere*, can ever think that Latin is in danger of dying. The whole pageant was built around *ducere* and its derivatives.

The play was begun by Mother *ducere* herself, represented by a girl dressed as a Roman matron, coming to the stage front and giving the following presentation speech:

I am the Voice of the Past. Noble and illustrious is my lineage, yet, in the life of mortals, I have been the companion of all from the lowly shepherd lad in the mountain glen, to the proud emperor on his throne. I was born on the banks of the Tiber, a stream famous in the annals of men. As the years sped by, I saw the rude village, peopled by even ruder men, grow into a great and glorious city, the seat of a great and powerful empire, whose confines were the limits of the known world. I saw the rude huts of Alba Longa give way to the proud edifices of the Eternal City. I saw the nations of earth, one by one, bow in submission before the terrible eagles of Rome.

And of all this I was a part! I was with Regulus on his mission to Carthage and saw how a noble Roman kept his plighted word. I was with Scipio at Zama when mighty Hannibal met crushing defeat and saw his dream of vengeance shattered. I was with the mighty Caesar when he spread terror among the barbarians of Gaul, Britain, and Germany. I saw this same mighty man cross the Rubicon and make himself master of Rome, only to fall a victim to Cassius, Brutus, and the rest.

I was with the silver-tongued Cicero when the Forum resounded with the thunder of his oratory, and men were spell-bound by the magic of his art.

And then, I saw the glory of my people begin to fade. Sin, selfishness, and greed supplanted the rugged virtues of their fathers. I saw Anarchy, Tyranny, Destruction, and Death reign arrogantly in the matchless City of the Seven Hills until at last I beheld the barbarian hordes overwhelm my people and destroy forever the empire of the Caesars.

With the passing of my people, I, too, feared that I should be forgotten; yet, lo, I still live in my descendants, who now pass before you, sons and daughters of America, France, Britain, Italy, and Spain, yet sons and daughters of mine and as enduring as the fame and grandeur of mighty Rome.

I am the word *ducere*, and these are my companions.

After this introductory speech, thirteen girls, of the brunette type, and in classical Roman garb, came forward as thirteen Latin prefixes of *duc-*; these prefixes, *ab*, *e*, *con*, *de*, *in*, *intro*, etc., were displayed in large type on a cardboard band worn by each girl. These prefixes and *ducere* then reviewed about one hundred English and American words derived from *ducere*, each repre-

sented by a girl dressed in white and displaying the word in the same manner as did the prefixes. When these girls filed on the stage, two of their number bearing the British and American flags, they were introduced to the Latin mother with: "Mother, I present to thee the sons and daughters of England and America, the two greatest nations of the world."

Then, upon the exit of the Anglo-Saxon group, the attention of all was centered upon the dramatization of a few special words of our language, showing to the audience concrete examples of the use of words. *Educator*, representing a typical old maid school teacher, was followed submissively around the stage by a group of ten pupils, with books and other equipment, representing *educated*. Next *producer* and *produce* were presented by a farmer coming across stage wheeling a barrow full of turnips, cabbage, and other vegetables. Then came *reducible*, represented by a very broad and stout boy, followed by *irreducible*, a small and extremely thin individual. *Inducement* was the name of the next scene, which was represented by a mother having very poor success in *inducing* her small and recalcitrant son to come to her, but finally persuading him by holding up a stick of candy, with which sweetmeat he was easily *induced*. Then *abduction* was realistically portrayed by a boy rushing, panic-stricken, across the stage pursued by four villainous robbers, these finally *abducting* the boy in spite of his yells at finding himself *abducted*. *Inducted* was the last word dramatized, being portrayed by a number of youths representing conscripts marching around the stage in all the accouterments of soldiers. As each of these words was dramatized, it was displayed on a large placard so that all the audience could see the word which was being acted.

After this dramatization, the influence of Latin on the languages of our sister nations was shown. About forty brunettes, representing French words derived from *ducere*, came on the stage with the French tricolor in their midst, and were presented with the words, "Mother, I present to thee the daughters of France," then passed in review before *ducere*, and filed off the stage. Then came forty Spanish girls, typifying the best examples of the Spanish derivatives of *duc-*, and after them twenty-two beautiful daughters of "sunny Italy." During the panoramic presentation of the derivatives of each nationality, appropriate music was played, and the girls in their simple white costumes and in their orderly alignment presented a pleasing and impressive spectacle. The play was closed by the pupils, assembled, singing "America" in the Latin tongue.

The exercise, which took about twenty minutes to present, was worked up chiefly by W. J. Moyes, Head of the Latin Department of South End, and to his efforts, and to the splendid cooperation of the other members of the Latin Department and of the Latin pupils, all the success of the production may be attributed.

Wisconsin

The Ninth Annual Contest of the Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges was held at Madison on May 13. The examination was set this year by the Latin Department of Yale University.

Hints for Teachers

Edited by B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.

Latin for English

In *School and Society*, XIV, 192 ff. (September 17, 1921), Professor W. L. Carr, of Oberlin College, publishes the paper on *First-year Latin and Growth in English Vocabulary* which interested so many teachers at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South last spring. He gives the result of an investigation made by him to determine:

(1) To what extent the knowledge and training resulting from the study of Latin for one year appeared to aid in increasing the pupil's understanding of English words connected by derivation with Latin words presumably learned; and (2) Whether any such increased understanding of English words appeared to have developed automatically, or to have resulted from specific training in word analysis and derivation in connection with the work in Latin.

The study shows clearly that from September to May the Latin pupils in certain schools much more than doubled their ability to understand words of Latin origin while the no-Latin pupils gained but little. On the point of automatic transfer the tests seem to show that there was considerable gain in English even in those classes in which derivative work was somewhat slighted, but that the greatest gains occurred where this work had been stressed. Common-sense thinking leads to the same conclusion. We should listen neither to the person who says that in the past Latin has been valueless for English because we have failed to do derivative work nor to the person who says that there is no need for special attention to the matter. Clearly the best results will be gained by stressing derivative work.

The test which Professor Carr devised for the investigation has been revised and is now being given in a large number of schools under the auspices of the Advisory Committee of the American Classical League.

Parallels

According to a newspaper report, a bill was introduced in the Florida senate to limit lawyers' incomes to \$3,000 a year. An editorial in a leading newspaper attributes this action to envy. But perhaps, in the absence of details, we may guess that this restriction, applicable only to lawyers and

not to other classes, was due in some measure to the same thought that for a long time led the Romans to forbid their lawyers to take any fees at all. The *lex Cincia* dealing with this subject was passed in 204 B. C. But Roman laws, like our laws, had a way of being forgotten. So Augustus was forced to re-enact the Cincian law. Abuses became so flagrant later that in 47 A. D. a compromise measure was passed fixing \$400 as the legal maximum for fees. Tacitus (*Ann.* XI, 6) enumerates some of the arguments in favor of restriction: that fame was the best reward, that the noble profession of law was being disgraced by sordid considerations, that lawyers could no longer be trusted because of their interest in making money, that there would be fewer lawsuits if no one profited by them, that hatred was being encouraged to bring profit to the lawyers. Some of these assertions are familiar to us moderns. The chief of the opposing arguments was that no one could be expected to neglect his affairs to attend to the affairs of others.

Edward Bok expressed his preference for the small town over the large city. A writer in the Chicago *Daily News* calls this attitude a thoroughly classical doctrine. He quotes Horace's descriptions of conditions at Rome and at Tibur, and Tacitus' ascription of Agricola's good qualities to the fact that he was born in the provincial town of Marseilles.

Strictly speaking, this is not a parallel. But I cannot refrain from commenting on the report that an engineer has been appointed director of an advisory board on highway research in order to discover better methods of road-building. My suggestion, more or less seriously meant, is that a Roman archæologist be appointed as co-director to report on the Roman roads and their lessons for us. I recall a statement made at a roads congress a few years ago that Roman roads, as shown by a specimen of roadbed exhibited there, were as good as the best American roads.

Charades

Miss Marjorie Carpenter, of Stephens Junior College, Columbia, Mo., furnishes the following charades, which may be used at entertainments or in Latin clubs. They are based on the English pronunciation of the names, as should be made clear:

Catamantalœdis (cat, a man to lead us. Get a man to lead a song; we had the janitor lead with his brush).

Rhodanus (rode on us. Two girls carry a third pack-saddle).

Cæsar (see, czar. Some one with field glasses looks at another person dressed as czar).

Bibrax (bib, racks. Bib hanging on clothes rack).

Marius (marry us. Mock wedding).

Teachers will find it a simple matter to add to this list.

Latin Composition

Our present system of class instruction as contrasted with the earlier system of individual instruction owes its inception chiefly to reasons of

economy: it is obviously cheaper to teach 20 or 50 at a time than one at a time. But whenever teachers become discontented with the results of class teaching they inevitably turn to individual instruction as a remedy. Hence the "preceptorial systems," "laboratory methods," etc. When I consider the unusual difficulties of getting satisfactory results in Latin composition it is not surprising to me to recall that I have known several Latin teachers, in high school and college, including myself, who have taken refuge in individual instruction in composition. *Latin Notes* suggests that assignments for outside study consist of the vocabulary, forms and syntax involved in a given exercise but that the actual translation be done in school and discussed with the pupils individually. Record of the completed sentences may be kept by the teacher on individual "Laboratory Cards."

Book Reviews

Concise Latin Grammar. BY BENJAMIN L. D'OOGHE. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1921

There was a time when the grammar book was indispensable to students from the very beginning of their study of Latin. The type of beginning book now in use has entirely driven the grammar from the first year. The inclusion of grammatical summaries in second and third year texts is fast driving the grammar out of the later years of the course as well. Many a student now goes through high school and college Latin without acquiring a Latin grammar or getting thoroughly acquainted with one. Under the circumstances a new grammar must possess many novel features to justify its appearance.

Recent Latin grammars may be divided into two classes, the longer, like Hale-Buck (399 pp.) and Allen and Greenough (500 pp.), and the shorter, like Bennett (303 pp.) and Burton (350 pp.). The grammar under review emphasizes its brevity by the word "concise" in the title, by a quotation from Horace on the title-page and by the first sentence in the Preface. Yet it has 428 pp. But it really contains much less than the Hale-Buck book because of its sparing use of small type, by the open effect of the page, and by unusual fullness of explanation on difficult points. It must then be thought of as a compromise, like Burton, between Bennett and the longer grammars. It is not exhaustive but aims to present the essentials for high-school and college students. It makes no pretense of contributing anything to the scholarly study of grammar.

Obviously such a book cannot differ from its predecessors very much except in the emphasis on various points. The emphasis in this book is on the points important to the beginner. For example, only one of the grammars mentioned above defines the word "base" and D'Ooge follows it (Allen and Greenough), even to the language and examples, in defining the word and in distinguishing it carefully from "root" and "stem." The various synopses of syntactical materials are also due to this emphasis. In general, the book reads more like a beginning book than a traditional grammar—and this statement is not meant as an unfavorable criticism.

Naturally, individuals will differ in their opinions about the matters omitted or included. When I note the omission of such important matters as the *cum*-clause of description in the present tense, I cannot help but feel that the discussion of the origin of the Roman numerical symbols, while interesting, could well be dispensed with.

The Preface states that in the matter of grammatical nomenclature a conservative attitude has been taken, but I am glad to see that the phrase is not to be taken too seriously.

The illustrative examples have been drawn chiefly from secondary Latin, but the references are not given. This strikes me as a defect. Bennett found it desirable to add a table of references in the new edition of his grammar.

Other points that may be noted are the following: the introduction on the Latin language is new in this form. There is no note calling attention to the important difference in quality between long and short vowels. The discussion of vowel quantity is awkwardly postponed, so that quantity is talked about long before it is explained. Penult and antepenult are not defined. The dative and ablative plural of *dea* and *filia* are given as *deabus* and *filibus* and nothing is said of the occurrence of the regular forms. The table of the original endings of consonant and i-stems of the third declension is useful. There is some confusion in the treatment of the defective nouns: *epula* is given among the nouns having a plural only, but it is listed again (rightly) among those which are of one gender in the singular and another in the plural. In section 134e "adopted father" should read "adoptive father." The subjective genitive is made to include the possessive and other genitives and the example *domus Caesaris* is cited. Like other grammars this one does not explain the origin of the *resert* construction. In the example *id eis persuasit* (section 410) *id* is explained as an accusative of kindred meaning; it is obviously the direct object. The examples under the ablative of cause are a hodge-podge, but a note relieves the situation somewhat. In the treatment of word order space is given to the results of several recent studies. There is a short section on prose rhythm. The detailed discussion of vowel and syllable quantity is given at the end preceding the section on versification, to which it is related.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

B. L. ULLMAN

Greek Tragedy. By GILBERT NORWOOD, M.A. Boston: John W. Luce & Co., 1920. \$5. Pp. vi+394.

The scope of this volume—which by a curious coincidence has made its appearance almost simultaneously with the *Athenian Tragedy* of the late Professor T. D. Goodell—includes the entire field of Greek Tragedy as viewed from the standpoint of the archaeologist, the literary critic and historian, and the humanist generally. The work as such should constitute a convenient *vade mecum* for a wide circle of readers. The various divisions of the book treat of the literary history of Tragedy, the theatre and the play, the works of the three great masters of Athenian Tragedy,—together with a very lucid and illuminating, if elementary, exposition of Greek metric as it occurs in the Tragedy.

The outlook of the author is essentially conservative. It is perhaps hardly fair that his treatment of Sir William Ridgeway's brilliant theory of the origin of Tragedy should be confined to a footnote, and that his conclusion here should be the somewhat dogmatic,—“We cannot regard Professor Ridgeway as having succeeded in damaging the traditional view.” Mr. Norwood displays great caution when he comes to consider the problematical question whether acting was performed on stage or in orchestra during the fifth century. In separate sections he marshals the arguments for and opposing the traditional view, relying on the works of Haigh and Dörpfeld respectively, but refuses to commit himself definitely either way. It appears extraordi-

nary, however, that he has totally slighted (he can hardly be ignorant of) the work of American scholars in this field. It is surely a mistake lightly to disregard the contributions to theatrical literature made by, e.g., Professors Capps, Flickinger, and J. T. Allen.

The chapters which deal with the writings of the ancient dramatists themselves are decidedly the best. The author has attempted "to follow the working of each playwright's mind, to realize what he meant his work to 'feel like.' " The difficulty of any such undertaking will be readily conceded by all. Nevertheless Mr. Norwood has in his exposition met with an eminent degree of success. Under his skillful manipulation the rough places have been made smooth, the secret workings of the Greek mind have been revealed with a delicacy and sureness of touch such as is seldom to be met with in a work of this nature.

A. D. FRASER.

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE.

Studies in the History and Method of Science. Edited by CHARLES SINGER. Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Quarto, pp. xxii+559. £2. 8s net.

We do not expect present-day students to begin their work in classics, as the renaissance students very largely did, from the sources. We feed them at first with elaborately predigested nutriment. We supply them with grammar and lexicon (or, alas, mere vocabularies) from the beginning, with exercise-books (though there is far too much of this dilution of learning), with texts annotated partly for the laudable purpose of enabling them to build up quickly and accurately a background and perspective necessary for intelligent interpretation and assimilation of what they read, and partly for the more questionable purpose of forestalling and postponing their need of exercising and developing their own powers of comparison, inference, and judgment. Particularly within the last three-quarters of a century we have compiled for them many varieties of dictionaries and systematic manuals. They are now bountifully supplied with printed outlines of knowledge in the fields of philosophy, of political history (if not of social and economic), of public and private life, of Roman (if not so well of Greek) law, even of epigraphy and palaeography, of general linguistics, and of comparative philology. But manuals and histories of ancient science have been disproportionately few. One might almost imagine that what we call the natural and physical sciences were unknown to the ancients, or so vaguely and erroneously treated by them as not to be worthy of our especial study as a part of ancient lore. To how many classical students does ancient geography mean anything more than maps not in the least like those of the ancients themselves, but accurately drawn from modern surveys, and then labeled with ancient place-names? In the minds of how many students would the mention of Eratosthenes, or of Hipparchus, or of Ptolemy's *Almagest* awaken the slightest reaction?

It is certain that we need more guidance into the intricacies of ancient science, and the present generation is witnessing the proffer of it. In our

own country Professor Heidel is clearing a trail into the geographic and chronological realm, and Professor Robbins holds out pledges of an active career in the borderland between philosophy and sciences. We have heard of a monumental edition of Strabo. In Germany we have the researches of Sudhoff and Wellman; the corpus of the Greek medical writers, and of the Latin, has not given up the ghost. The Austrian Neuburger's history of medicine has even been in part translated into English. The new *Union Astronomique Internationale*, founded at Brussels in 1919, is reported to have established a commission for newly editing the works of ancient astronomers. In Italy there is a new *Archivio di Storia della Scienza*. In France the fifth volume of the late M. Duhem's imposing work, *Le Systeme du Monde; Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*, brings his presentation down to the time of St. Thomas Aquinas. From Britain, where this brand of the sacred fire appears to be burning most brightly, we hear of much academic activity, new courses of instruction in the history of science, and new articles and books. The forthcoming edition of Liddell and Scott is to have its definitions of scientific terms most carefully revised and supplemented. Sir T. L. Heath is to give us a much needed history of Greek Mathematics. And the *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, under the editorship of Dr. Singer, is hereafter to appear in annual volumes.

The first volume of these *Studies* was issued *inter arma*, in 1917, with an inspiring preface by the late Dr. Osler, whom we Americans are not willing to count as altogether of England. The present second volume, grand in size, perfect in typography, and gorgeous in illustration, colored as well as black-and-white, contains fifteen essays, not by amateurs or tyros, but by masters in their respective sciences. Some few of the essays are throughout of immediate interest to the classical student—*Greek Biology and Its Relation to Modern Biology* (by the editor); *Mediaeval Astronomy* (J. L. E. Dreyer); *The Asclepiadae and the Priests of Asclepius* (E. T. Withrington); *Archimedes' Principle of the Balance* (J. M. Child); *Aristotle on the Heart* (Arthur Platt)—and certain others contain matter that he can ill afford to miss, if his mental activity is not too severely confined by academic definitions and narrow chronological boundaries. Perhaps he may read with some melancholy interest and a sigh of appreciation the last sentence of the editor's Preface: "We may well look to this new orientation of scientific teaching to counteract the effects of the regrettable but real decline in the study of the older 'humanities.'" It is at any rate something not without the suggestion of hope, when the scientist drops a non-saurian tear into the yawning grave long ago solicitously prepared for the not yet quite defunct "older humanities."

E. T. M.

Athenian Tragedy: A Study in Popular Art. By THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL, Late Professor of Greek in Yale University. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1920. Pp. 297.

This posthumous work of Professor Goodell's is perhaps significant of changing conditions in classical study. A life spent in scholarly teaching and

marked by one distinguished achievement in the narrow field of metrical science is rounded out by an interpretation of the larger aspects of Greek tragedy addressed to readers who know no Greek. Without any parade of bibliography but at the same time without any catering to the galleries Mr. Goodell presents the results of many years of careful reflection upon those features of Greek dramatic art that are of most interest to students of dramatic literature such as Mr. Brander Matthews and Mr. William Archer. Almost the only trace of pedantry is in two pages of the preface in which he cannot refrain from recurring to the trite question of the proper spelling of Greek proper names, a quite hopeless problem hardly solved by any such reasoning as is implied in the query: if "Jason for Iason is held sacred, why not Jonians and Jon and Jo?"

The first four chapters are concerned with the background of tragedy,—the interrelation of the arts, the history of the type, and the special environing conditions and the conventions that affect the form and content. Here Mr. Flickinger's book covers the same ground much more fully and interestingly, although such an introduction is necessary to put the reader in sympathy with the peculiar factors, so much at odds with modern conditions, that sometimes prevent immediate appreciation of the Greek type by the modern student.

The last six chapters attack the external and internal form and the general content of tragedy. It is quite evident in these chapters what has prompted the writing of the book. Mr. Goodell was not so much interested in a full interpretation of the form and content of tragedy as in meeting adverse criticisms directed against the Greek genre by modern critics. He is anxious to reduce to a minimum the differences that the layman and the literary critic find between modern and ancient drama. His impatience is provoked by Mr. Archer's contention that there is no more conflict in the *Agamemnon* than there is between the spider and the fly who walks into his web, that Oedipus does not struggle at all but writhes like a worm on the hook, and in general that the predominance of fate in Greek tragedy is a serious handicap, and the characters are so many puppets guided by Destiny into abhorrent tangles. Needless to say, these loose generalizations are wisely qualified and restricted by Mr. Goodell's closer acquaintance with the plays and with the environment out of which they issued. But such persuasive force as Mr. Goodell's reservations might have exerted upon the layman and the literary critic is seriously diminished by his indulgence in extreme statements of his own position after he has soberly analyzed the shortcomings of current notions regarding Fate and the treatment of character in the Greek tragedies. Proper as his limitation of Fate may be, there is nothing gained by such an extravagant statement as "of the Fate that has held a conspicuous place . . . in modern explanation of differences between modern and ancient tragedy there is no more to be found than in 'Othello' or 'Macbeth'." Similarly, after reiterating (what any intelligent reader nowadays freely admits) that it is absurd to regard Homer's art as primitive and to contrast the Homeric epics as "popular" with the *Aeneid* as a "literary" epic, Mr. Goodell rushes into reckless hyperbole by asserting that "there never was a more conscious literary artist" than Homer. One

may readily grant that the treatment of character in Homer and in Greek tragedy is adequate and that, like the art of Phidias, it is broad, never minute; nor is one necessarily imputing any defects to earlier Greek literary art by this description. But Mr. Goodell is prone to state his case in such terms that there is no room for any changes or developments or for any justification of such changes in the history of the drama. Like so many enthusiastic partizans of the Golden Age of Greek literature he thinks in terms of better or worse; to him "in essentials no literary art known to man is more mature than that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*." If effective organization into dramatic wholes is an essential of literary art we may well doubt, even if we are professed unitarians, whether Homer had reached anywhere near the degree of maturity that Virgil attained. The fact is that Mr. Goodell enjoyed Homer more than he did Virgil, as most of us do, and he was not interested in observing that, in spite of the Homeric achievement, the Virgilian epic marks a tremendous change, both in respect to structure of action and to character treatment. In brief, it is quite impossible for him to look backward over the whole range of literature and see the outstanding high points which are marked by various stages of Greek and Roman literature. On the contrary he prefers to correct by somewhat microscopic study the large generalizations which no doubt are often hastily and loosely made by less competent critics. Unfortunately he often shows less sense of perspective than they do.

With this one reservation, however, the book is commendable. It offers very valuable suggestions regarding the treatment of character by the three tragedians, many stimulating hints on the structure of plot, and a great deal of incidental comment that is the result of careful consideration. One is conscious always of the scholarly deliberation and the loving sympathy with the best Greek art which lie behind the most casual statements. Unpretentious, sober, and accurate Mr. Goodell's last work continues the tradition of all his scholarly activity.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HENRY W. PRESCOTT.

Recent Books

- BETHE, E. *Griechische Lyrik*. Leipzig: Teubner. Pp. 106. 7M.
- BYWATER, INGRAM, and others. *Oxford Lectures on Classical Subjects*. 1905-1920. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 264. \$6.75.
- CAESAR, Books VI and VII of the *Galic War*, partly in the original and partly in translation, edited by R. W. Livingstone and C. E. Freeman, with introduction, notes, and vocabulary. New York: Oxford University Press. Various paging. \$1.60.
- CHRIST, W. VON. *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, edited by W. Schmid and O. Stählin. 6th edition. Zweiter Teil: die nachklassische der griechischen Literatur. Erste Hälfte: von 320 vor Christus bis 100 nach Christus. Munich: Beck. Pp. vii+662. 55M.
- FIMMEN, D. *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*. Leipzig: Teubner. Pp. 226.
- FRAZER, J. G. *The Library of Apollodorus*. With an English translation. In 2 volumes. Vols. I and II. (Loeb Classical Library) New York: Putnam. Pp. 403 and 546. \$2.25 net each.
- GODLEY, A. D. *Herodotus*. With an English translation. In 4 volumes. Vol. II. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 416. \$2.25 net.
- JAMES, H. R. *Our Hellenic Heritage*. Vol. I, Part I: The Greek Epics. Part 88, The Struggle with Persia. London: Macmillan. Pp. xv+408. 6s.
- SALLUST. *The Jugurthine War*, partly in the original and partly in translation, edited by H. E. Butler. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 151. \$1.60.
- SOPHOCLES. *Sophoclean Fragments*, emended by R. J. Walker. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. Pp. xi+122. 12s 6d.
- SOUTER, A. *Hints on the Study of Latin*, A.D. 125-750. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 48. \$0.25.
- TEUFFEL, W. S. *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. 7th edition, edited by W. Kroll and F. Skutsch. Vol. II: die Literatur von 31 v. Chr. bis 96 n. Chr. Leipzig: Teubner. Pp. vi+341. 15M.+100% Teuerungszuschlag.
- VERGIL. *The Poems of Vergil*, translated into English verse by James Rhoades. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xii+424. \$1.00.
- SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT. *Marcus Aurelius*: a Biography, told as much as may be by letters, together with some account of the Stoic religion, and an exposition of the Roman government's attempt to suppress Christianity during Marcus's reign. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 309. \$2.75.
- SUMMERS, WALTER C. *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*: a review of Latin literature from the death of Augustus to that of Trajan. New York: Stokes. Pp. 323. \$3.00 net.

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Editorial

THE ELEMENT OF INTEREST

The proper place of interest in the educational scheme is a question much complicated by the extremists who profess to be experts, but whose main business too often seems to be to get glory to themselves by supplying a "scientific justification" for what the public appears to want. It may be well, therefore, to look into this question somewhat dispassionately.

In the first place, however highly we may rate the value of a prescribed course of study, and though we may hope that the pendulum will ultimately swing back in that direction, the fact remains that for the present, and for some time to come, the study of Latin will be mostly on an elective basis.

Second, it is not to be expected that, on a purely elective basis, Latin will be able to hold its own automatically in the schools. For whether or no the high school student is at an age when he may safely be trusted to select his course of study wisely, as a matter of fact he is pretty much at liberty to choose what he will; and Latin does not enjoy the reputation of being an easy and attractive subject.

Under these circumstances, it is clear that it will no longer serve baldly to offer the old Latin course of the days of prescription, bidding the student take it or leave it; in most cases he will be only too glad to leave it. Rather, some definite plan of campaign must be developed to meet the new conditions.

Of course, considerable progress has already been made under this head; for example, in the direction of the attention of parents

to the school work of their children. Literature for use in this connection is now fairly abundant; and both parents and administrative officers are impressed by concrete exhibits designed to show the "practical" value of the study of Latin, notably its relation to the pupil's command of English, a subject to which much attention has been given of late.

If we are left to deal with the student himself, it is his interest that must be appealed to in some way or other; for it does not accord naturally with high school age to forego present ease and pleasure in favor of hard work that may later yield valuable fruit. It is the impulse of youth to seize the desired thing that is within reach, and to take a chance in regard to the future.

Especially in the larger schools, attractive extra-curriculum activities abound. These take time; and if equal credit toward graduation and college matriculation is given for subjects that involve little drudgery, why tie one's self to a "grind," especially in view of the fact that the great lights in education have made the joyous discovery that "the educational value of all subjects is the same"? A practical illustration is seen in the case of a lad who found that he had not the time to keep up with his Vergil class, and transferred to a "science" in which the back work could be read up in a day or two, and full credit secured by taking a little test on the same.

In college work, too, a like difficulty is being encountered. Here the pressure of extra-curriculum activity is at the maximum; and the vastly increased enrolment of late years almost inevitably is establishing as the norm the huge class that runs up into the hundreds, and which meets a lecturer three times a week, laughs at his jokes, reads a book or two, passes a test,—and registers three units toward graduation.

A subject like mathematics, which is still prerequisite in so many lines of work, holds its own pretty well even against such competition; but the case of the classics is hard indeed. Few students have the time and the will to submit themselves without compulsion to the demands of a course that ties them down to regular careful preparation. Partly to meet this condition, and

partly to enroll more students, college departments on every side are setting up Greek and Latin courses in English.

Such courses offer the student something that he can handle with as little difficulty as a lecture course in economics, let us say. Meanwhile prophets are not wanting to spread the glad news that everything of value in the study of the classics can be reached through translations, and that while others foolishly fought to win the prize, it is now possible to be carried to the goal on flowery beds of ease. Without pausing to consider this question, it is suggested that college departments of classics will do well, before instituting courses in translation, to consider what effect this action will have upon the genuine study of the languages and literatures concerned. Under present conditions of college work a grave danger lurks here.

Returning to the problem of the schools, aside from spirited and up to date teaching, how may we legitimately appeal to the student's interest? Latin plays and Latin clubs have proved helpful; and, in general, they are to be recommended, if they can be introduced without sacrificing the real business of the course. The inroads that they make upon the student's time need to be carefully watched.

Some recent discussion in the *Observer* touches upon an element of interest which most of us would heartily endorse as in the highest degree desirable. The main proposition follows: "Hard languages are good for boys, as bones are good for puppies' teeth. But the teleology of the bone would be falsified, if the puppy did not find it attractive enough to persevere with." These words inspire an elderly correspondent, who designates himself "Old Crock," to give an account of his own experience with Latin when a lad. He confesses frankly that he was quite at sea at the start, and opines that he never would have succeeded but for the good management of his coach.

The idea of the latter was simplicity itself. He began with the general sense of a passage as a whole, later developing the details and the grammar. As soon as the boy grasped the idea of the passage, and saw that his author really had something to say, he

felt that he was getting a return for his effort; in other words, his interest was aroused, and the battle was won.

Unless we belong to the extreme group which holds that in the schools "Latin should not be taught as an end in itself,"¹ we shall probably heartily agree that the boy was right in requiring, as a condition of his interested coöperation, that he should be made to feel that, in dealing with a Latin author, he was coming into contact with a real personality and an intelligible message.

It may not be pleasant to face the fact; but it is undoubtedly true that numerous students in the schools have never found their feet in Latin, and flounder about in the manner of the lad above referred to. If anyone doubts the accuracy of this statement, he is referred to the reports rendered from time to time by Professor McCrea on the results of the examinations of the College Entrance Board. Confronted with an easy passage, many a student attacks it without hope of extracting any sense from the Latin, and offers a "translation" consisting of a jumble of English words that mean nothing to him or to the reader.

Under such conditions, how can we expect a pupil to be interested in Latin? And are we not in duty bound to search diligently for ways and means to supply the essential basis of interest that only a real understanding of the text can afford? Under this head two suggestions are offered:

1. Filling the gap between the beginning book and Caesar. At this point of abrupt transition, thousands fall out of step and can never regain their place in the line. Already very promising signs are seen in the growing popularity of the plan whereby beginning Latin is spread over three half-years. On this basis it is possible to lead up to Caesar by means of easy graded readings; and with such preparation, in some schools at least, it is found feasible to read four books of Caesar in the fourth half-year, with noteworthy gain in efficiency and interest all along the line.

2. Reorganization of the work of the third year. So far as the fourth year is concerned, Vergil seems to meet the requirements as well as any author could; but for the third year it is

¹ Cf. Report of the Committee on the Junior High School Syllabus in Latin (State of New York, 1921), p. 1.

questioned whether six orations of Cicero form an ideal programme. At least three things can be said in its disfavor.

First, though a competent and devoted teacher can handle the orations in such a way as to make the study exceedingly valuable, the content of such a course lacks in attractive power; at any rate our heaviest loss in enrolment is just at that point. With more attractive reading matter in the first half of the third year, more students might be induced to continue the subject beyond the two-year minimum.

Second, in view of the slow progress in the reading (six orations in a whole year), there is too much sameness in the programme. Even in college classes, which cover ground so much more rapidly, the student wearies of the sameness of his text, and it is often found a good plan to include two authors within the limits of a single half-year.

Third, the thought units are too large to be handled comfortably by young pupils who know little Latin, and who perforce must proceed very slowly. Thus it is said that the Manilian Law is easy; but even the earnest student easily gets lost in the largeness of the treatment, and is often quite mystified as to what it's all about. A series of stories, each complete in thirty or forty lines, would serve infinitely better as a starting point.

Cicero's Orations, of course, would be retained for the second half of the third year. But cannot we make a legitimate appeal to the interest of our pupils by providing a more attractive menu for the first half of that year? Specially helpful at this point would be a collection of readings that reveal with some clearness the everyday life of the Romans. Here something could be learned from the methods adopted by modern language teachers.

H. C. N.

INTER NOS

In spite of many grounds for encouragement, it is clear that the future of classical studies still lies on the knees of the gods. The present is no time for lethargy, nor is it a time for repining. Other subjects and doctrines are being crowded to the fore. Devotees of the classical today have a stern obligation and at the same time an extraordinary opportunity.

Membership in the Association

Our duties to classical scholarship under these conditions demand of us vigorous coöperation in every possible effort at promotion of the cause. In the territory which it covers, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South offers the most opportune means of such coöperation, and every member of the Association may properly consider that he is performing an important service for the classics in urging upon all teachers and patrons of Greek and Latin the privilege and duty of membership and of participation in the benefits of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*. While the numbers of the Association are constantly increasing, hundreds of teachers still are not counted in this alliance. The officers of the Association urge its members to assist actively in bringing the claims of the organization before those who are not yet connected with it. If every classical teacher in our thirty states would join the Association and read the *JOURNAL* regularly, our educational status and our standards of scholarship would without question be greatly improved. Send in one new membership this month.

Advertising in the Journal

After sixteen years *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* has now begun to publish advertising in its columns. This new policy, which was authorized at the last annual meeting, is expected to be of service to members of the Association by way of acquainting them with books, slides, films, and other products in which classical teachers are interested. At the same time it is hoped that the financial returns will make it possible in these difficult times to publish a larger and better magazine and to promote activities important for our cause. In this matter the members of the Association can render a double service. When writing to advertisers, take pains to mention the fact that the advertisement was seen in the *JOURNAL*; in many cases this will be the advertisers' only means of checking. Also, be sure to notify the president or the secretary concerning reliable firms who might find it profitable to use advertising space. Still better, if occasion offers, bring the matter personally to the attention of firms or individuals of your

acquaintance. You can assure them that the space is worth while; the JOURNAL is read by more than 4,000 classical teachers and students, having by far the largest circulation of any periodical of its kind. Furthermore, from native interest some persons will be glad to include their names in the advertising pages, even if full recompense be more or less uncertain. Rate cards may be obtained from the president or the secretary.

The Annual Meeting

Plans are under way for the program of the annual meeting of the Association April 13 to 15 at the University of Wisconsin. The committee will be glad to learn of any studies or experiments which might be suitable for presentation at the conference in Madison. It may not prove possible to include in the program all papers offered, but the committee will be glad of the opportunity to consider many offerings. Suggestions along this line should be sent to the president at an early date.

C. H. W.

CICERO AND HIS CRITICS¹

BY M. S. SLAUGHTER
The University of Wisconsin

St. Jerome, sick of a fever, beheld in a vision the judgment seat and heard himself asked the question—"What art thou?" "A Christian," he answered. "No," came the accusation, "thou are not a Christian, but a Ciceronian, since where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." This fourth century saint had once confessed himself an abandoned sinner because he could not refrain from reading Cicero even on fast days.

It was the spirit of Cicero's writings, particularly the philosophical works, that held captive the soul of St. Jerome. And he was not alone among the Church Fathers in devotion to Cicero. St. Augustine was, on his own testimony, converted to Christianity by reading the *Hortensius*—a lost work of Cicero—an exhortation to philosophy:

Ille vero liber mutavit affectum meum et ad te ipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas, et vota ac desideria mea fecit alia—that book turned my love to Thee, O Lord, so that I desired the immortality of wisdom with an incredible burning of the heart and I began to arise and return to Thee.

And so the philosophy of Cicero passed into the Church and became part and parcel of her teachings; became absorbed into whatever intellectual life there was at this time, the four or five centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire. It is quite beside the mark to protest that Cicero's philosophical works are of no real or independent value. Mommsen says, "With equal peevishness and precipitation Cicero composed in a couple of months an entire philosophical library." It is true that in rapid succession, in a short space of time—about two years—at the most distressful period of his life and of that of the Republic, Cicero published a

¹ Read at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, St. Louis, March 25, 1921.

number of treatises on philosophical subjects, mainly ethical, largely adaptations from the Greek. They are not without merit in themselves though they may count for little in the history of philosophy by the side of their greater Greek equivalents. To the Church Fathers of the fourth and succeeding centuries and to the occasional layman, Cicero was one of those who

quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt (Lucr. II:79)—
like runners hand on the lamp of life—

To this audience all this has long been familiar. For twenty-five years we have been heavily in debt to Zielinski (*Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*). I shall not repeat his many illustrations of Cicero's influence in the intervening centuries. Cicero was never lost sight of though the lamp of learning did not always burn brightly. In the poor schools, even those of the Church for technical training in theology, Cicero had a part. During the Middle Ages he shared with Aristotle a sad eminence in the dialectical programmes of the time. In the universities of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and even 14th centuries, the classical authors had less and less place and we hear John of Salisbury pleading for the Authors, among them Cicero. In these centuries, the classical authors had been crowded out by the practical subjects. Students then were not unlike students now. The popular branches were medicine and law, and in the law one branch especially caught the fancy of the students. This was "that pearl of knowledge"—*ars dictaminis*—the art of writing letters and formal documents; a forerunner of our courses in business correspondence.

To the demands of the practical was added clerical feeling against the pagan classical authors. Logic, dialectics the Church favored, and the study of Aristotle flourished. John of Salisbury laments that the students praised Aristotle and despised Cicero.

Specialists occupied with the history of these centuries point to the fact that a "backwoods" Europe was being transformed into a country of well built cities, good highways and all the other trimmings that go with economic development. This accounts for the prevailing tone of these centuries and the practical turn that was given to all studies, even those in the Church schools.

With the rise of humanism Cicero came again into his own, when Petrarch in the 14th Century became the inspiration of the Classical Renaissance. This story, too, is familiar. This first modern man of letters found his chief inspiration in Cicero. At times fighting against, at times surrendering to the spirit of the mediaeval church, Petrarch devoted himself to the study of the Latin classics making of them living men, not shrouded nonentities, not lay figures on which to hang dissertations on words and phrases, that "distemper of learning" against which Roger Bacon had rebelled.

With eager avidity Petrarch read and appropriated the philosophical and rhetorical works of Cicero and by chance stumbled upon a manuscript of Cicero's letters to Atticus. The personal revelations of these intimate letters of Cicero greatly disturbed Petrarch for a time. In his own "Letters to Dead Authors," one is addressed to Cicero, in which he chides him for being less a sage than he had pictured him, too vacillating at the most critical time of his career, though he continued to proclaim his devotion to his genius and eloquence. He says that "Cicero is like a man who carries a light behind his back. Others receive the light while he himself stumbles in the dark." The intimate revelations of these personal, private letters were a severe test. Few public men have ever been put to a test so severe. Cicero speaks his heart out to his friend Atticus and his detractors have not minimized what they are pleased to call his self-betrayal.

The discovery of the letters aroused a new interest in Cicero. They were read everywhere. Written to his family, his intimate friends and acquaintances and to his political associates, they give a picture of twenty-five years of public and private life incredibly clear and vivid. By common consent Cicero is the world's greatest letter writer. Through the popularity of the letters the neglected works gained recognition; the *De Oratore* and other important works were read and substituted in educational programs for the comparatively unimportant *De Inventione* and the *Topica*. We do not always realize nor adequately appreciate the enormous volume of Cicero's works: over 800 letters, 56 orations, half a dozen rhetorical, and as many philosophical

treatises and some charming essays. It was the range of Cicero's interest evidenced by the volume of his work that made him a commanding figure among the humanists.

Until the time of Niebuhr, who in the early part of the 19th century wrote the first modern history of Rome, Cicero continued to hold this high place in the councils of humanism. Niebuhr says that "Cicero followed truth in every way, and in his doing so we recognize the discord of his mind; he was in contradiction with himself." Then more kindly Niebuhr adds "I love Cicero as if I had known him and I judge of him as I would of a near relation who had committed a folly." This patronizing compliment is the last kind word we hear for Cicero from professors at the universities of Germany who write on Roman history. With the exception, perhaps, of Ihne, they all seem to suffer from literary adenoids, if an allusion to the *emunctae naris* of Horace (Sat. I, IV, 8) be not too remote.

Cicero's "folly" grew to a crime in the minds of Drumann, his most diabolical detractor, and of Mommsen, Drumann's unscrupulous successor in the business of character defamation. The crime for which Cicero is maligned by these anything but self-effacing critics is an incurable faith in a free state.

During the four hundred years from Petrarch to Niebuhr men the world over sat at Cicero's feet and learned from him the secret of life, practical, literary and spiritual life. Like Virgil he was

Duplici circumdatus aestu carminis et rerum (Manilius)—
Surrounded by a double tide of life and letters.

To him men turned for those studies which he himself glorifies in the oration for Archias, his old teacher: Haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

Such studies nourish youth, delight old age, adorn success, furnish a refuge and a solace in adversity, at home they charm, abroad they do not embarrass, in the night seasons they are with us, they travel with us to the country and to foreign lands.

This is humanism as a grace of life, ministering to the pleasure and polish of social intercourse, as well as a discipline "which aims at drawing out all the mental and moral faculties of man." (Jebb.)

I wonder if it is true after all that the "Roman desired the ἀγαθόν, the good, though he never quite felt or knew the καλόν, the beautiful." I fancy he was very much like other men in this respect in spite of a persistent tradition to the contrary. We know too much of Rome's government and rival governors and too little of her people, not the multitude but the many men and women who lived their lives unostentatiously in the quiet of their own homes. The satirist and the historian have combined to paint for us an unlovely picture which after all may not present all sides of life. Just as we have a perverse picture of one side of Cicero's influence in the Renaissance. From him an *ism* was born, a dangerous thing to have happen to any man, for perversions and exaggerations are sure to follow.

Cicero's rhetorical works are of the best and eloquence in theory and practice in the Renaissance depended almost altogether from him. He was for many men the great stylist and Ciceronianism became a cult, a fetich, and, if one may believe Erasmus, a caricature. Men sought by fasting and prayer and unending toil to speak and write like Cicero. His very words, his phrases. Erasmus in his "Ciceronianus" paints a vivid picture of a humanist gone mad in the pursuit of Ciceronian perfection, a formal perfection of style. Mommsen calls Ciceronianism a mystery of human nature; language and the effect of language on the mind a problem which cannot be solved. The power which language exercises was, he says, in Cicero's case transferred to the unworthy vessel. Custom and the schoolmaster completed what the power of language had begun. Cicero became the supreme stylist and the creator of the modern classical Latin prose. Naturally Mommsen finds nothing to praise in this phase of Cicero's influence. His eloquence lacks fire, his speeches lack clearness and articulate division, and his language is deficient in precision and chasteness. His dialogue is not as good as the Greek—which is doubtless true—but more to the point in Mommsen's appraise-

ment is not as good as Lessing's. Of Cicero's correspondence Mommsen says with a sneer that people are in the habit of calling it interesting and clever. To such and to all admirers of Cicero's writings he gives his sovereign, imperious and peremptory advice, "to observe in literary matters a becoming silence";—so far have we come from Quintilian, a second century Roman critic whose frequently quoted opinion is: "The pleasure a man takes in Cicero is the standard by which he may judge his own intellectual culture."

Wherever republican institutions have flourished or men have struggled to attain free government, there Cicero has been a quickening influence. The Church Fathers—the "bitter enders" at least—were in the habit of saying that only Lethe could take away the influence of Cicero. Imitation, admiration, adulation of Cicero are seen not merely in isolated instances but were the prevailing attitude. No side of Cicero escaped but his strongest influence was perhaps that of his oratory. The great period of English eloquence, the eighteenth century to cite but one, is perhaps the most striking example. Read Burke, if that is not a counsel of perfection or a call to penance, or Gibbon, to find an English Cicero. But I am aware that to the present generation such eloquence, the periodic style at all, is anathema, and the taste of our collegians is not formed on such obsolete models, such old, antiquated, worn-out forms of thought and conceptions of life. We demand a "literature that embodies the scientific and progressive thought of the present age" (Shorey), expressed in a conversational style, in simple sentences and when possible in words of one syllable, without subtle allusion or reference to a past that only angers the listener by putting his present day education to a test so disconcerting.

Cicero's eloquence is too grandiloquent and no longer makes the appeal that it did when Burke thundered forth his Ciceronian English in his Impeachment of Warren Hastings, a strikingly similar appeal to that of Cicero in his oration against Verres, a forerunner of Hastings in the gentle art of robbing a province. It ought to be said in extenuation of these two gentlemen that Verres was a connoisseur in Greek marbles and bronzes and

many men sympathized with him when he went to his death rather than surrender to Mark Antony his most precious works of art, while the administration of Warren Hastings has never been without staunch defenders.

We have our nabobs, too, and our peace parleyings. Have we a Burke or a Cicero? If our idealism were less an emotion and more a reasoned philosophy we might hear again in the defense of right not an oratory harnessed to petty party politics but an outburst of "reason made hot with passion." For words that sound like Cicero, that might have been spoken by Cicero, recall Burke's speech on "Conciliation with America." "The proposition is Peace. Not Peace through the medium of war; not Peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not Peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle in all parts of the Empire; not Peace to depend on juridical determination of perplexing questions or the precise marking of the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace sought in its natural course and in its natural haunts . . . Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion and ever will be so, as long as the world endures."

A curious parallel exists between Cicero and Burke. They were both "new men," without important family affiliations, working with aristocratic oligarchs who secretly resented their powers but were compelled to depend upon their unusual gifts. Both had many years of disillusion and died defeated men.

Outside of our particular profession, Cicero is chiefly remembered as the author of *Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra*, or of tags like *O temporal! O mores!* Perhaps only a few remember the *Haec studia adolescentiam alunt*, unless they had the good fortune to go to the famous old Boston Latin school and looked upon these words, every day of their school life, carved over the entrance to the building; or may claim Brown University as their alma mater and could not escape them whenever they passed through the main entrance to the college campus on whose pillars these words of Cicero were long ago carved.

The Cicero that most people know is the Cicero of a few orations read in high school, the Catiline orations of the year

63 B. C. when Cicero was Consul, with perhaps a freshman flight into the *De Senectute* or the *De Amicitia*; and their picture of him is of an old Roman in long and it may be flowing toga on the Rostra or in the Senate House pouring out long periods of copious and fluent Latin for their despair or happily for their delectation.

By virtue of his wide range of interests, his encyclopedic information in history, literature, and law, his remarkable success as a teacher of men, and his long participation in the affairs of state, Cicero has a clear right to the attention of men. His was no single track mind. The indecision and vacillation of which he is accused and is guilty are due to the necessity he was under of seeing both sides of the question; the arguments pro and con alternately appealed to him and troubled him and rendered decision difficult. He had not the practical aptitude for politics which, according to Mommsen, made Julius Caesar a "perfect man." Caesar possessed, Mommsen says, practical aptitude as a citizen in perfection. Caesar was a thorough-going realist and this made of him the consummate statesman. Caesar's cool sobriety, marvelous serenity, his rationalism, appeal strongly to Mommsen's imperialistic mind. From such a critic we need expect no grace for Cicero either in literature or state-craft.

As most of you know and many of you have said, the modern attitude towards Cicero of harsh criticism and deliberate undervaluation is largely due to the influence and wide circulation and acceptance of Mommsen's History of Rome. Men living under free institutions have accepted without question the judgment of an arch supporter of a benevolent despotism, who in making a demigod of Julius Caesar, the real founder of the Roman Empire, found it impossible to see any virtue in Cicero, the advocate of a free state, the believer in an ideal republic, and the author of a programme to establish such a state. That his cause was a "lost cause," a forlorn hope, endeared it all the more to Cicero, a man of humanistic ideals, and should recommend him to the favorable consideration of all men of like tastes and a similar philosophy of life. Cicero says he "mourned for the commonwealth longer and more bitterly than ever a mother mourned for her only son." (Ad Att. IX, 20, 3.)

Cicero repeatedly gave up politics for which he was not primarily intended by nature, repeatedly returned to the life best suited to his natural disposition, to letters and the studies that he loved. But he could not live a detached life and he was as repeatedly drawn back into the political arena, gifted lawyer that he was, at the solicitation of his friends, or because of the ever-returning hope that he might see at last established at Rome that form of government in which he believed and for which he prayed. He essayed a difficult and dangerous part in the last years of the Republic. He found in Pompey a broken reed; he saw in Caesar a gracious and attractive personality, with a genius for statesmanship but feared in him this genius because it was misdirected and aimed at personal gains. "It is impossible for me," he says of Caesar, "to be other than a friend to one who deserves well of his country.

"Cicero thought the Republic had swooned under Caesar's blow. He did not realize that it was killed" (Strachan-Davidson). He begs Caesar to "have regard for the judge who will come in ages after," for the judgment of posterity, telling him that it was his chief duty to subdue his personal inclinations, to master his angry feelings, to be moderate in victory, and assuring him that a man's chief glory is to "be remembered for great services done to one's friends, one's country, and to mankind." To Caesar's credit it must be said that Cicero's appeals to his clemency and humanity in individual cases were never denied. On the larger questions of state Cicero made little impression upon Caesar's plans for personal control. Once more he retired to his books and the quiet of his country estates. It was only after the assassination of Caesar that Cicero felt all shackles fall from him and entered the forum for the last time for the final contest with Antony. He could have had no illusion as to the probable outcome of this struggle but he made good use of his freedom and followed what he conceived to be his duty to his death. In no period of his career does Cicero appear to better advantage than in this last encounter with Antony and the men who sought only self-aggrandizement and whose final success meant the over-

throw of Cicero's dream of a free state and the permanent establishment of a government with Augustus Caesar in sole control.

In commenting on the fate of men of letters on entering politics John Morley has this significant statement (Recollections, Vol. I, p. 185). "A transition from books, study, and the publicist's pen, to the vicissitudes of political action is not much favored by happy precedents. Let us not be shy of going too far back. The most historically influential type among famous men of letters, say what we will, is Cicero, the immortal, the all wise Tully, and we know Cicero's blood-stained end on the Stabian seashore, attended by the ill-omened flight of crows from the Temple of Apollo."

Cicero died like a Roman, and by so doing atoned for many littlenesses: vanity, conceit, ultra-sensitiveness, exhibitions of physical timidity, bordering on physical cowardice; if atonement is asked for such things from one whose purity of life and high moral standards in all personal dealings combine to make of him a shining exception among the men of his day.

Cicero failed in the one consuming desire of his life, to see a free state established at Rome and to be not its ruler but a participator in its benefits and a sharer in the glory of its success. He had many gifts of the statesman, but Mommsen says he lacked courage and "on those who lack courage, the gods lavish every favor and every gift in vain." His hero, Caesar, had courage and he destroyed the Republic.

Commenting on Caesar's successful usurpation of the powers of the Republic, Mommsen in one of his choicest sentences, which may be of interest to you as throwing light on the animus with which he wrote the story of the fall of the Roman Republic, says: "Not until the dragon seed of North America ripens will the world have again similar fruits to reap." To depart from history to indulge in prophecy is not the only mistake Mommsen makes in this astonishing sentence.

The restoration of the Republic of the Scipios was Cicero's solution for the world's ills and to this he clung, perhaps mistakenly, until the end. He has left us a picture of his ideal republic in his *De Republica*, of which unfortunately only fragments have

come down to us. The world has united in praising this document, but Mommsen calls it a "singular mongrel compound of history and philosophy, which carries out the idea that the existing constitution of Rome is substantially the ideal state organization sought for by the philosophers, an idea as unphilosophical as unhistorical."

Mommsen is quite incapable by birth, nature, and training of understanding the situation in Rome in Cicero's day seen from any idealistic point of view. The idea of a free state enrages him. He worships Caesar and defends the despotism established by him, the revised divine right despotism brought into Europe from the Orient by Alexander of Macedon. The very name Caesar intrigues the mind of Mommsen and betrays him into making this self-revealing statement which fortunately now calls for a slight revision: "The peoples to whom the world belongs still at the present day designate the highest of their rulers by the name of Caesar."

After such a pronouncement have we not the right to demand of the German historians that they set a less biased man to the task of re-writing the story of the Roman Republic, one who knows neither *ira* nor *studio*, and may we not expect at his hands a fairer treatment of the man whose unpardonable sin was a belief in free institutions? Having all his utterances in mind may it not be pertinent to bid Mommsen and his kind "to observe in matters historical a becoming silence"? If this be history then in the name of the Continental Congress and the Great Jehovah give me poetry, or, if you will, propaganda."

Livy once said: "To praise Cicero as he deserves we ought to have another Cicero." I have not sought to supply the deficiency but I have sought to warn you once more against the unwarranted defamation of his character and the belittling of his achievements and ideals at the hands of historians too biased to appreciate either.

To know Cicero well is to live a large life in the midst of the stirring events of one of the world's greatest eras, an era with which our own has many points in common. He, too, had to live and work with plutocratic republicans whose minds were solid

and with radical republicans whose minds were fluid,—even as you and I. That he lost the battle does not detract from our interest in the struggle. That he preached better than he at all times practiced does not rule him out of our class. That in the main Cicero held to his high ideals cannot truthfully be gain said. His letters discover to us his human weaknesses—it's a hard test—but they also mirror for us a personality affable, lovable, affectionate, tender and loyal. He had a pretty wit, scintillating at times, at times even scurrilous, and a penetrating power of phrase that made him a terror to his opponents or enemies but a constant delight to his friends. He could use his vocabulary with astonishing and refreshing freedom. Caesar appreciated this gift of Cicero's and never failed to ask for Cicero's latest *bon mot*. These were the days when of Caesar's despotism it could be said that it was a despotism "tempered by epigrams,"—and the best were Cicero's.

Cicero was many, if not myriad, minded. His temperament was mercurial. His life was free from Rome's worst sins—sins to which Caesar openly and unblushingly surrendered. His high-mindedness has never been impeached, and in his character as wise councillor he has been the friendly companion of many noble souls from his to our own time. His writings need no expurgation on the score of morals. Very fittingly has he been given a large place in the discipline of humanism, which seeks to prepare for a life of action by acquaintance with men of thought and action in all times. In literature and philosophy Cicero sought and found the guide of life. When fate dealt him her hardest blow, he found in Plato and in the Greek poets the only consolation a pagan could know. When the state failed him and his home was bereft of his daughter Tullia, he sought in his books, the constant friends and companions of his life, that wisdom and comfort which he himself has so generously handed on to generations of men coming after. His appeal to the judgment of posterity has not been in vain. Those men who have known him best have found in him what the poet's phrase so adequately expresses, "Rome's least mortal mind."

WOONG AND THE WOODED*

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The tender passion, in the superabundant novelistic writing of the present age, plays a more important rôle than ever before in the history of literature. Among the infinite variations of presenting the course of true love, modern authors are naturally driven, in their search for something not too trite, occasionally, to the *outré*. Yet even so, except in isolated cases, while "Barkis may be willin'," we do not often find her wooing her future husband in any open and definite manner.

The situation is notably different in ancient literature. On the one hand, wooing by men cuts a very small figure, comparatively speaking; and, on the other, goddesses, heroines, and mortal women are continually represented as ardently pursuing and capturing the men of whom they are enamored. To the social systems of Athens and of Rome we must attribute this paucity of description of the pure young love of youth for maiden which forms so large a part of our modern literary material. Marriages were arranged by the parents, regardless of previous indications of affection between what we should now consider the "high contracting parties." It is not then so remarkable that the word-pictures of love painted for us by classical writers are rather those of that love which according to the laws of human nature tends to break the artificial rules and conventional methods of a false theory of family life. As the result we are constantly met by prosaic lovers in the realm of the good and the great, while passion is ever asserting itself in the gallant youth or the beauteous damsel, to break the bonds of conventionality and give free rein to love. The comedy of society treats of forbidden love at Athens; the great group of Roman elegists magnifies the fickle favors of a few fair coquettes; but we know not how either Menelaus or Paris wooed the most beautiful of all women; and, when Aeneas arrives

* Read before the last meeting of the New England Classical Association.

in Carthage, it is the widow Dido that makes all the advances and suffers most in the tragic dénouement. When Jove courts Alcmena we know nothing of it until it is a *fait accompli*. It is perhaps not surprising that the Astarte-Aphrodite-Venus goddess of mythology should woo her Adonis as ardently and openly as her devotees in the garden of Daphne sought their mates; but one needs to look beneath the surface to understand why the chaste Diana must also seek her handsome Endymion.

If we go back to ancient Hebrew literature, the prettiest love story is that of Ruth, the Moabitess, ancestress of David, whose kinsman had not undertaken to fulfill the law of the Levirate marriage. She accordingly, under the direction of her mother-in-law, Naomi, made careful plans to secure as a husband her rich kinsman Boaz. The whole proceeding was a wise and virtuous one. Ruth first shows herself a modest and industrious young widow. Then at the psychological moment, when Boaz was in his best humor, she is discovered at his feet in the threshing floor at midnight, and begs his protection. His heart is warmed, and he promises to perform a kinsman's duty, which promise he gallantly keeps. Boaz is a gentleman of the old Hebrew school. "And now, my daughter," he says, "fear not; I will do to thee all that thou requirest: for all the city of my people doth know that thou art a virtuous woman."

When the wily Odysseus returns to Ithaca after his tedious wanderings and delays, he finds a group of noble suitors laying siege to Penelope and her kingdom—it were truer to say, to her kingdom and Penelope! The suitors plot the ruin of Telemachus, and of Odysseus, in turn. They eat, drink, and are merry at the expense of their unwilling hostess. They make speeches to each other, and even to the faithful queen. They do everything, these suitors, but sue. It is the loaves and fishes they want, apparently, and we search in vain for tender avowals to Penelope herself.

Then all with speed succinct the victims slay:
With sheep and shaggy goats the porkers bled,
And the proud steer was on the marble spread.
With fire prepared, they deal the morsels round,
Wine, rosy-bright, the brimming goblets crowned
By sage Eumæus borne; the purple tide

Melanthius from an ample jar supplied:
 High canisters of bread Philaetius placed;
 And eager all devour the rich repast.¹

Thus these suitors carry on their campaign; they will eat Penelope out of house and home, if possible, and compel her to choose a new husband in order to save what is left out of the wreck. But it is not that Homer lacks interest in the tender passion or the genius to portray its progress and effects. When Hermes announces to Calypso that she must let Odysseus go, she thus confesses not only her own love, but also that of many another "eternal feminine," for mortal man:

Ungracious gods! with spite and envy cursed!
 Still to your own etherial race the worst!
 Ye envy mortal and immortal joy,
 And love, the only sweet of life, destroy.
 Did ever goddess by her charms engage
 A favor'd mortal, and not feel your rage?
 So when Aurora sought Orion's love,
 Her joys disturbed your blissful hours above,
 Till, in Ortygia, Dian's wingéd dart
 Had pierced the hapless hunter to the heart.
 So when the covert of the thrice-ear'd field
 Saw stately Ceres to her passion yield,
 Scarce could Iasion taste her heavenly charms,
 But Jove's swift lightning scorch'd him in her arms.
 And it is now my turn, ye mighty powers!
 Am I the envy of your blissful bowers?

And, a little later, though she has tried to bow to the decree of Jove, the woman in her triumphs for the moment, and she is thus helplessly driven on to one more artful attempt to woo him back:

A willing goddess, and immortal life,
 Might banish from thy mind an absent wife.
 Am I inferior to a mortal dame?
 Less soft my feature, less august my frame?
 Or shall the daughters of mankind compare
 Their earth-born beauties with the heavenly fair?

When the hero encounters Circe, and resists her arts, it is with

¹ Pope. Here and elsewhere in this paper familiar versions have been used.

flattery (the usual weapon of the male wooer) that the enchantress presses her suit:

Amazing strength, these poisons to sustain!
Not mortal thou, nor mortal is thy brain. . . .
Ulysses, Oh! thy threatening fury cease,
Sheathe thy bright sword, and join our hands in peace!
Let mutual joys our mutual trust combine,
And love, and love-born confidence be thine.

When at length the hero has regained Ithaca, and disposed of the suitors, he is far from happy in his revelation of himself to Penelope. Convinced at length of his identity, she reveals the "woman's heart":

The tears poured down amain: and O (she cries)
Let not against thy spouse thine anger rise!
O versed in every turn of human art,
Forgive the weakness of a woman's heart!

It is difficult to resist the thought that apparently the one "turn of human art" in which the hero was not well versed was the art of wooing. Had he merely breathed softly in her ear the one word, "Penelope," it is easy to imagine a very different and more speedy recognition. But the ponderous dignity of the hero hardly comports with tenderness, and his clumsy approach renews the familiar situation—again it is the man that is really wooed and won by the woman.

How much Vergil knew about love at first hand we may only conjecture. To his gentle soul it should certainly have been familiar in all its aspects. Witness his knowledge of the conventional methods of rehearsing love in his time, his languishing shepherds, his Gallus and Lycoris, his Orpheus and Eurydice. Yet when he tackles heroic poetry, his hero must be like Odysseus, the victim of Fate, destined to reach a certain goal, no matter how many hearts he breaks en route, never declaring his own love for any woman (except his regret that he had let Creusa be lost as he stalked ahead out of burning Troy), but compelled to listen to passionate declarations from the Carthaginian queen whose infatuation for him eventuates in her tragic death as he sails away to other shores. The widow, who fancies that her heart was now as marble to male fascinations, suddenly awakes, on the arrival

of the handsome, princely, and long-suffering stranger, to the consciousness of a burning passion, which she artfully reveals to sister Anna, and proceeds to gratify, if possible. She seeks divine favor for the match, and undertakes to entangle the hero. She conducts him all over town and shows him the fine city he would enjoy as royal consort. She starts to declare herself, but checks the impulse for the nonce. She flatters the guest by requesting him to repeat the description of his perils and adventures. They plan a hunting party. Everybody waits while the queen prinks; and when at length she emerges to view to go hunting, she is wearing an embroidered purple robe, her hair is fastened with a gold clasp, her gown belted with a gold buckle, and she carries her hunting arrows in a gold quiver! The gods hasten on their plans; and when Aeneas and Dido have in a cave taken refuge from a sudden shower, the hunt, for the queen at least, appears to be a success, and her view henceforth is that they are man and wife. Aeneas accepts the situation without visible enthusiasm, ready, if so it be, to understand this as the divine decree; but when the heavenly messenger arrives to tell him curtly to "sail," he is thrown into consternation, not because, so far as we can observe, he harbors any regrets due to love of his own for Dido, but because he fears the effect when her great love should be so rudely jarred. Poor Aeneas is destined, even now, not to woo Lavinia, but to have her hand thrust upon him by her father Latinus.

The heroines Adriadne and Medea cut a considerable figure in classic myth and literature, and doubtless deserve our sympathy for suffering such heart-rending desertion at the hands of their respective mates. But we may not forget that the term "mate" here has a double signification. For it was the fair lady in each case who was the real captain of the expedition as it sailed away in the form of an elopement! Of course in various other respects Ariadne is a replica of Medea, besides the fact that both Jason and Theseus were ardently wooed by the ladies in question. Each beauty was a king's daughter. Each was smitten by the sight of the heroic bearing of the stranger arriving from over-seas. Each helped the handsome adventurer to kill one of her relatives. Each sailed away with the object of her admiration, fleeing a father's

vengeance. Each was abandoned in due time, and expressed herself in no uncertain terms of execration about her lost husband. Each was comforted with another husband, and rode away in miraculous and spectacular glory. After Medea has rehearsed to Jason the depth of her sacrifice for him, Seneca puts into her mouth this plaintive summary of her devotion:

All this I did for thee.

In quest of thine advantage have I quite forgot mine own.

But the poltroon Jason seeks one way of escape after another, exemplifying all sorts of cowardice, but never once lisping a syllable of love, and concluding his lame defence by urging her to "curb" her "too impetuous heart," and be resigned to her fate. As for Ariadne, Catullus makes her plight no more vivid than how she became involved in it: "Him when the damsel beheld with eager eye, the princess, whom her chaste couch breathing sweet odors still nursed in her mother's soft embrace, like myrtles which spring by the streams of Eurotas, or the flowers of varied hue which the breath of spring draws forth, she turned not her burning eyes away from him, till she had caught fire in all her heart deep within, and glowed all flame in all her inmost marrow." But no sooner have the eloping pair fairly halted on the island of Dia, than the object of all this maddening affection forsook her "with forgetful mind," as the poet expresses it.

As soon as she discovers this abandonment of her, the lady indeed charges him with perjury and faithlessness. "Not such," she exclaims, "were the promises thou gavest me once with winning voice." But we have no lisp of such promises recorded, nor hint of advances by Theseus. Rather is the emphasis still sustained upon her desire to throw herself at his feet. "If thou hadst no mind to wed with me," she pleads, "for dread of the harsh bidding of thy stern father, yet thou could'st have led me into thy dwellings to serve thee as a slave with labor of love, laving thy white feet with liquid water, or with purple coverlet spreading thy bed." Not that Catullus lacked the temperament or the courage to picture a real wooing! Recall his charming little poetic vignette of the mutual ardor of Septimius and his Acme!

Once only does the bachelor Horace sketch for us a somewhat similar scene, where Lydia and her lover in a gem of a dialogue prove again the truth of the ancient saw, "a lover's quarrel is the cementing of love." But Horace never sounds the depths of his own love, at least before an audience. He has apparently had some bitter experience, enough to make him inclined to cynicism about the handsome girls that would set their trap for him. He is thankful to have escaped, like a ship-wrecked mariner, with even his life from the coquettish golden-haired Pyrrha.

Naturally the erotic elegy of the tender Tibullus, the ardent Propertius, and the sophisticated Ovid, exhibits many phases of love, and often lifts full high the curtain before its grosser side. The fickle, and too often, avaricious fascinator of these young spendthrifts are offered, in many forms and with oft-repeated pleadings, an idolizing devotion of which they are little worthy. Tibullus cannot endure the thought that any fair one's eloquent eyes should be disfigured with weeping for him. Though Propertius praises unstintedly the beauty of his Cynthia, prays her back from the jaws of death, and repeatedly offers her such fidelity as any woman might crave, his conclusion is, "One woman were a host of ills for any man"; and he marshals many notorious examples in the attempt to show that woman is unconscionable in the pursuit, through whatever obstacle, of the object of her desire—Pasiphaë, Tyro, Scylla, Medea, and the rest of the naughty crew. Even after her rejection and death, her shade, he dreams, would woo him back; and as he creates the new type of aetiological elegy, it is through the form of the Tarpeia legend in which that unhappy damsel courts the handsome prince Tatius.

As for Sulpicia, the one notable female figure in Roman literature, her wooing of Cerinthus is as frank and direct as any masculine lover could employ, and her one apology is that in a moment of weakness she had tried to disguise the passion that flamed within her breast!

The various unhappy heroines whom in their loneliness Ovid represents in the *Heroides* as speaking their deep love to their lovers or husbands, or those who they would were lovers or husbands, run the gamut, from marital fidelity of devotion, to he shamelessly incestuous wooing of Phaedra.

Poor Lucretius, whose intense passion for his fellow-men was cut short, if we might believe tradition, by a love-philtre, sees naught in love but fortuitous concourses of atoms. Scarcely less material in the love of the early romancers, Petronius and Apuleius. The Greek romances of Theagenes and Chariclea and of Clitopho and Leucippe, with their oriental prolixity of amorousness, and even the relatively pretty story of Daphnis and Chloe, portray the most obstreperous wooing by various women. And one who should take time to dabble in the novelettes of the middle ages would find that the type of story related of the notorious "widow of Ephesus" is sufficiently in evidence.

As early as the third century, however, we find as dainty a bit of feminine wooing as one could seek, where maidenly modesty is combined with a complete loss of the girl's heart to a worthy, but unconscious hero, and the working out of the plot is in no way offensive to modern taste, in the History of Apollonius, King of Tyre. A strange *mélange*, indeed, is this "history" in which some of the more disagreeable episodes of a pagan type are detailed side by side with indications of Christian influence, and with other episodes of the utmost nobility, including many and obvious parallels to the *Aeneid*, all told with a simplicity of style and a rapid course of events that recommended it to other connoisseurs of good literature besides Shakespeare, who used it so largely in his *Pericles*. When Apollonius takes to the princess the bids of the three suitors for her hand, and she finds not among them the name she would have found, she looks up at her teacher and inquires, "Aren't you sorry, sir, that I am to wed?" "Oh no!" said Apollonius, "but I congratulate you that now, being well equipped in learning through my instruction and the will of God, you may marry the man of your choice." And as the girl replies, "Sir, were you in love, you would be particularly sorry about your instruction," who can help recalling Longfellow's *Miles Standish*, and Priscilla's artless inquiry?—"Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" And when, at length, after the whole pretty story of the dawning upon the unconscious and blushing Apollonius that it is he himself whom the maiden adores, and the king concludes his explanation with the words, "So, Master Apollonius, I pray you, do not disdain my daughter's hand!" the astonished prince can make only the

not over-gallant response, "Thy will and God's be done!" It is the old story of a woman's heart winning a stupid, speechless, man.

"Drive out nature with a pitch-fork, yet will she ever return," sings Horace. If artificial conditions of society would hem in the human heart, it will break the bars of convention. Nature was, even in the Middle Ages, reasserting herself. In the epic of Waltharius, when the hero returns from battle to the palace where he and the princess whose hand had years before been promised him were both now captives of a foreign king, the love scene in which both lovers discover their hearts and pledge their mutual faith is "as a jewel of gold in a swine's snout" amidst the ruck of killing and blood-letting that dominates the poem as a whole. And, as usual, "the eternal feminine" has the best of the argument, and wins our unqualified admiration. After a little preliminary word-fencing, Waltharius exclaims, "No mortal is here except us two: if I knew you were ready to open your heart to me, and with all caution to keep faith in everything, I would fain disclose to you the secrets of my soul." "Then at last the maiden, falling at the knees of the hero, spoke forth: "Eagerly, my lord, will I follow, to whatsoever thou mayest call me, nor would I prefer anything to thy sweet will." "Our exile do I loathe," he replied, "and oft bethink me of the land of our fathers, which we have left; and so I eagerly desire to hasten flight in secret. Long since perchance had I been able thus to do, were it not for my sadness at the thought of Hildegunde tarrying alone." Then from her very soul did the darling girl speak these feeling words: "Your wish is mine; this only is my own ardent longing. Let my lord command, be its omen good or ill, I am ready, for love of him, with all my heart to suffer what may come.""

Although this a work of about the tenth century, here we begin once more to stand on modern ground, and "Love Triumphant" shines again untarnished.

XENOPHON TRAGODOS

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If there is one thing that disseminators of Hellenic "sweetness and light" enjoy more than another, apparently, it is taking a fall out of Xenophon. From the discussions of his life and works that are most accessible to American readers we learn that he was a mere dilettante, that he had no depth—or breadth—of vision, and no critical ability. He was incapable of understanding the Socratic philosophy, and ignorant of the most elementary principles of historical accuracy. He did not really possess any great talent for leadership, and was after all not a good tactician. Finally the last shreds of our respect for Xenophon are swept away when we are told that he didn't write good Attic prose. An eminent critic finds in his works three hundred and sixteen poetic words, ninety-nine that are Ionic, and sixty-two that are broad Doric! He used figures that belong peculiarly to poetry, and—shades of Isocrates!—he constantly failed to observe hiatus. By the time we have conned over this damning indictment a dozen times or more in various handbooks and editions, we feel that Mrs. Wright treats Xenophon rather handsomely when she observes that, although he was "a dilettante in philosophy and history," he "was thoroughly qualified to write the treatise *On Hunting*." Unfortunately, however, the effect of this gratifying tribute is rather marred by the conclusion which immediately follows, that this, the only one of Xenophon's works which he was competent to write, he probably did not write at all.

Most of us are only too ready to applaud these criticisms when we recall the peculiarly depressing circumstances under which we became acquainted with Xenophon; how we struggled through the earlier books of the *Anabasis* with the help of a vocabulary, a collection of arid notes, and an instructor whose interest in Greek seemed to be limited to irregular verbs and mixed condi-

tions. We looked on Xenophon as rather a stupid sort, and thought of the *Anabasis* as a mere stop-gap between the beginning book and the golden treasures of Homer, a linguistic Slough of Despond through which we had to toil under an ever-increasing burden of rules and paradigms.

Some of the statements to which I have alluded are true, or at least contain a modicum of truth. But is there no more to be said of Xenophon than this? We must not forget that partial truth is often worse than none at all, as reference to the record in *Bardell vs. Fickwick* will establish. For example one of the editors of the *Anabasis* is probably within the facts when he says of Xenophon's family, to show their piety and social eminence, "they were wont to sacrifice swine to Zeus the Gracious, a fact which may possibly have had something to do with the name Gryllus"—that of Xenophon's father—"which means *pig*." But the impression that the average schoolboy will derive from this bald statement can only be conjectured. If you wish to know what can be said of Xenophon by one who appreciates him truly, read Croiset's discussion. At present let us turn to a consideration of some portions of the *Anabasis*.

The charge of dullness, so often brought against this work, is usually based upon the opening chapters, which are characterized as a bare recapitulation of distances and places. As a matter of fact, they are a charming bit of literary workmanship, both as regards their relation to the whole and the details of their execution. To what extent Xenophon consciously applied the principles of dramatic composition we cannot say. But he instinctively perceived, like the true son of old Athens that he was, the intense tragic irony of his first great climax—the death of Cyrus in the moment of victory, the strange working of human destiny by which the gallant young prince lay dead upon the field of battle, slain by his own uncontrollable passions, while his irresistible phalanx was sweeping all before it, a blind agent of destruction whose guiding purpose had ceased to live. A spirit steeped in the great masterpieces of the old tragedy could not be insensible to the dramatic qualities of such a situation, and Xenophon, with consummate skill, whether conscious or intuitive, makes his

whole story of the upward march a preparation for the catastrophe in which it terminates.

I do not wish to say, nor do I for a moment believe, that Xenophon thought of this portion of his work as a tragedy, or that he consciously made it conform to the canons of dramatic composition. We have convincing evidence to the contrary in the simplicity of his narrative, its commonplace, homely diction, and the unaffected freedom with which observations on the most trifling topics are inserted at every point. But I do mean to say that Xenophon's truly Attic mind, moulded by the religious and literary influences of his environment and time, could scarcely have conceived the situation otherwise than he did or written of it differently. The brief prologue, which sketches for us in a few bold strokes the characters, and with them the passions whose interplay is to bring about the denouement, leads us almost imperceptibly into the proper action of our play. The intrigue and preparation of years are crowded into a few pregnant lines, and, almost before we know it, we have assisted at the assembling of the host in Sardis and the great expedition that is to win the throne of Persia is on its way to Babylon. Nations and countries are but pin-points, and months but moments, in the swiftly-moving narrative. Presently we are startled to find that we have threaded the populous and fertile plains of Lydia and Phrygia, won through the mountain passes of Cilicia, traversed the Arabian desert and the rich length of Mesopotamia, and stand before the very gates of Babylon. Meanwhile, the chorus—of Greek mercenaries, let us say—have first suspected and then queried the purpose of the protagonist, and have finally been made confidants in the great plot that is on foot. Next come premonitions of the climax—first rumors of the king's approach, then traces of his army's march, and finally, when least expected, the galloping horseman and the call to arms. Then follows the description of the hosts on either side, and the stage is set for the final catastrophe.

Thus, without realizing it, following only the trend of his subconscious ideas, Xenophon has composed a tragedy in prose, in the simple prose of ordinary narrative. Urged by an all-compell-

ing interest in his climax, he has compressed months of time and miles of weary marching into the narrative of an hour, and in thus causing us to become oblivious of time and space has observed the unities as faithfully as if the action of his drama started on the field of Cunaxa the morning of the conflict. Unhampered by the physical limitations of the theatre, with all the wealth of his recollections for his setting, and having in his pen a magic wand to bring princes and emperors with their myriad hosts thronging upon the scene, he unfolds before our eyes a spectacle that is tremendous—if we are minded to appreciate it.

The temptation to press further the comparison that has been drawn, to analyze and catalogue the points in the narrative and fit them into a scheme of formal dramatic structure, is alluring. One might even go on and show that the first four books of the *Anabasis* correspond to a trilogy. The first tragedy is followed by a second, with Clearchus and Tissaphernes as the central figures. In this the whole course of the action is clouded by distrust and gloomy forebodings of the impending catastrophe, the murder of the captains and generals, which constitutes the second great climax. After the second interlude, the third and last play begins with the introduction upon the scene of the new protagonist, Xenophon, who works out the salvation of the host to a happy ending that suggests the Tauric Iphigenia. And who can say but that Xenophon, had he been spared to write his narrative a few decades later, might have found in the conquest of Alexander the true tragic ending for his trilogy, the complete reversal of fortune, and the Nemesis of the gods? But the folly of such playful speculations, however diverting they may be, becomes only too clear when we remember that the author was probably quite unconscious of the causes that shaped the handling of his theme and that it certainly never occurred to him to analyze the results as we have done. However, there is more to a drama than the mere outline of the plot; there are the different episodes with their dialogue and speeches, the lyric passages, and all that goes to round out the play into a harmonious whole. Obviously there must be something in the work of Xenophon to correspond to this, if in no other respect yet in mere bulk and general function;

something to cover the bare frame-work of the structure and give to the finished whole the due proportion that art and taste demand. It suits our purpose to put only one question, in examining this—whether it fulfils its function worthily and whether the resultant whole is good. Our knowledge of the author, and the simple directness of his language, lead us to foresee that the materials which he will use for this purpose will be plain, perhaps even homely. But we may assume with confidence that the mind which grasped by intuition the full significance of the action and unfolded its tragic grandeur to our eyes in such masterly wise used for this purpose nothing that was really dull or mean.

The first break in the swift, steady movement of the narrative is the little description of Celaenae, with its palaces and rivers, the park of Cyrus, the famous grotto where Marsyas suffered for his arrogance, and the citadel built by Xerxes. However tiresome this may be to the modern pedant, to Xenophon's countrymen it was fraught with the music of old lays and with stirring memories of glorious deeds. At Tyriaeum we pause to admire the martial splendor of the hoplites on parade and to indulge in a quiet chuckle at the picture of the Cilician queen fleeing madly in her chariot of state, surrounded by a mob of panic-stricken hucksters. There is perhaps also a quiet touch of humor in the account of the meeting between Cyrus and Syennesis at Tarsus and their exchange of gifts. The Cilician monarch makes a liberal donation to Cyrus' depleted war-chest, and in return receives as marks of that prince's favor a charger with golden trappings, jewelry and a dagger of gold, a robe of state, a truce to the pillaging of his realms, and the royal permission to take back his kidnapped subjects—if he can find them. Here three weeks' delay is occasioned by an incipient mutiny, and we have the exquisite gratification of beholding the bluff Clearchus in the rôle of Pecksniff, weeping his way into the hearts of his soldiers and then tricking them with his astute diplomacy. At Thapsacus we have another mutiny, which results in a gratifying rise in the market value of hoplites and gives Menon an opportunity this time to play the rôle of saviour.

When we have crossed the Euphrates and the river god has shown what a poor political prophet he is by bowing down to Cyrus, we are in another land. I never read Xenophon's graphic description of the desert, "smooth as the sea," its grass and shrubbery all "fragrant as spices," teeming with wild life of every description, bustards, gazelles, wild asses, ostriches, that I do not in fancy breathe in a fragrance of sage and at the same time see before me an old, gaily-colored print of the desert in "*Swiss Family Robinson*." How vivid it all is—the fleet wild asses turning to gaze at the pursuers they have so easily outstripped, the ostriches plying both feet and wings, the heavy flight of the bustards which makes them an easy prey; and what quiet humor in the terse statement, "Nobody got an ostrich." We cannot help being interested in the poor desert-dwellers who quarried and fashioned mill-stones and sold them in Babylon to gain their daily bread. To the desert also we are indebted for a practical lesson in economics, a case of supply and demand. Bread-stuffs failed the Greek force; the Asiatic hucksters had cornered the grain market and demanded for a quart of meal a sum that at home would have maintained a respectable Athenian family for days. But they didn't know the canny Greeks, who declined to pay war prices and solved the problem by a meat diet. Scarcely are we out of the desert when the supply wagons get stuck in the mud and we are diverted by the ludicrous spectacle of the Persian grandees in Cyrus' retinue peeling off their broadcloth coats at a sharp word from their lord and dashing madly into the mire in all the glory of their embroidered waistcoats and lavender trousers to put their shoulders to the wheel. And we must not forget that to the Greek trousers were about as suggestive of sturdy masculinity as crêpe de chine to us. The impatient haste manifested by Cyrus throughout this portion of the march is explained in a clear and succinct statement of the tactical situation by which he was confronted.

Now comes the spirited account of a brawl that threatened to have serious consequences. Soldiers of Menon and Clearchus quarreled, and the Spartan war-lord caned one of Menon's troopers, to the great indignation of his comrades. That same

day, as Clearchus rode disdainfully through Menon's encampment, a soldier who was splitting kindling took a fling at him with an axe. The missile fortunately went wide of its mark, but was followed by a shower of stones that compelled the haughty Spartan to effect a strategic retreat in haste. He roused up his whole command and marched upon Menon's division with his cavalry. Proxenus attempted to play the rôle of peacemaker, unsuccessfully, and a bloody battle would have ensued had not Cyrus come galloping up in the nick of time and stilled the tumult by his good sense and eloquence.

This lively, serio-comic interlude makes more impressive the story that follows of the attempted treason and execution of Orontes, the most tragic episode of the journey. Brief as is the tale, the treatment gives it the importance of a by-plot to the great catastrophe. In it we have Xenophon at his best. The dialogue between Cyrus and his faithless subject, with the stern indictment and the confession of guilt, throws into bold relief the antithesis of inexorable justice and a manly determination to face the consequences of wrongdoing. We feel that Xenophon appreciates the noble spirit exhibited by Orontes in the moment of supreme trial as fully as the essential righteousness of Cyrus' position. Nothing could be finer than the reply to Cyrus' last question. "Could you become once more my brother's enemy, my trusted friend?" "Even if I could become so, Cyrus, you could never more believe." Clearchus' vote for death, couched in trite and pompous phrases, with a note of self-seeking, is in pitiful contrast. It shows that Xenophon was as keenly alive to the Spartan's elements of weakness as to the Persian's noble traits, and tells us all too plainly what his respect for a gallant comrade fallen makes him later leave unsaid. Again, Xenophon's allusion to the faithfulness of Orontes' followers, who do reverence to their disgraced lord as he is being led to death, sits well upon the lips of one who had learned from Socrates to seek for the good, the true, and the beautiful in the hearts of men. The closing words of this tragic episode leave us with a haunting sense of awe and mystery. "And when he had been brought into the tent of Artapates, the most trusted of Cyrus' chamberlains, thereafter

did no man behold Orontes, either alive or dead, nor did any man know to tell the manner of his death, though one would conjecture this and another that; but no grave of his has ever to this day been seen."

Now we are on the eve of the catastrophe, and from this point on the narrative is surcharged with presages of the impending conflict. But we need not pursue our summary, for surely the material before us suffices for present judgment. One sentence I must quote, the one which marks the end of the first drama in our trilogy and ushers in the interlude, a sentence almost worthy to be set beside the noble close of the *Phaedo*. "So died Cyrus, a man of all the Persians after the great Cyrus most kingly and meet to rule, as all agree who are esteemed to have known him well."

Here then is the flesh with which Xenophon clothes the bare skeleton of his plot. This is a part of what the earlier books of the *Anabasis* contain. This is the dryer and duller part of the story written by our shallow dilettante, our amateur author, our unhistorical historian, our would-be philosopher, our offender against the purity of Attic speech, our rebel against the "prunes and prisms" edict of the no-hiatus school. We can admit that he is a dilettante, an amateur, and no more of a historian than a philosopher; that his neglect of Attic purity is deplorable and his disregard of hiatus revolting; but, when this is said, he is still "Xenophon—an Athenian," with all that the title implied in the great age of Athens. Herein lie his charm, his power, and worth. His love of the good and the beautiful, fostered by the precepts and example of Socrates, his genial personality, his wholesome interest in human affairs, and the fineness of taste and feeling that were alike the tradition of his stock and the product of his environment—these were the qualities that won him immortality and will preserve it against all the assaults of hostile criticism.

If you feel that I have been carried away by my enthusiasm and have allowed myself to become a bit sophomoric—a thing unpardonable in a respectable pedant—do but suspend your judgment until you have reread at least the earlier books of the

Anabasis. Even this little taste will make you a lover of the man and an admirer of his art. You will easily bear with my enthusiasm, the more readily when you remember that as I pen this, I come fresh from a ramble in the philological dissecting room, where the post-mortem over the remains of Xenophon is still in progress.

When those of you who have not done so lately take down Xenophon from his place on the dusty top shelf, between Wentworth's geometry and Myers' General History, and read him again, you will form your own opinions of his merits, instead of taking them from the introduction to some edition which is but too likely to be an in-bred weakling, sired by the latest German Schülersausgabe and mothered by the Greek grammar. Then you will feel in fullest measure what Croiset says so charmingly and I so clumsily paraphrase: "What then is the source of Xenophon's peculiar charm and of his 'Atticism'? It is the fact that he is above all *honnête homme*; he employs language, as Fénelon says, as one ought to employ clothing, for covering, and not for adornment. He has nothing of the sophist or of the declaimer. After the erudite and formal prose of the Gorgias and the Antiphons he brings back to Athens true simplicity and grace. We expect to find an author, and are delighted to find a man. He has shown that the gravest subjects, those most important for human life, can be approached by a man of genius without his having need to raise the voice."

ROME OF VIRGIL

BY NORMAN W. DEWITT

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The intellectual versatility of Cicero, the appealing charm of his personality, his copious eloquence and the sheer bulk and variety of his literary legacy pour such a glory about the closing years of the Republic that we forget his silences, and overlook the inadequacy of his writings as a picture of contemporary Rome. As we conjure up in fancy the image of this handsome Arpinate standing upon the brow of the old Rostra and facing a motionless multitude entranced by the abundance and smoothness of the numbers that flowed so effortlessly from his persuasive lips, how difficult to bear in mind that all the outward surroundings of that scene had long since grown quaint and archaic! When we think of him in the moment of peroration invoking the holiest memories and most precious sentiments of a brave and ancient populace, and raising a practiced hand in graceful gesture to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus high above the listening throngs, how difficult to recall that the city about him was then as delapidated as his crowd was degraded, that of all the sacred edifices within the circle of those templed hills perhaps his temple of Jupiter alone was not in a condition upon that very day to tumble down! How easy to forget that with the exception of the Tabularium the buildings of the Forum had come down from the times when the red head of the elder Cato was a landmark among the crowds and the tribunals were fringed with veterans of the Punic Wars! The architectural grandeur of the city was of later date. It was the archaic Rome of Cicero that first met Virgil's eyes; only in later days did he behold the beginnings of the new Rome of Augustus.

In order to visualize the Rome of his student days we must dismiss from the fancy the memory of almost all the ruins that we

are accustomed to associate with the Forum, the city, and its surroundings. The three lonely columns of Castor's temple that stood up so bravely through all the centuries when the Forum was a cow pasture, the sturdy pillars of Saturn, too lofty to yield to the creeping earth and useless to the lime-burner, the battered arches of Titus and Septimius Severus, all the palaces of the Palatine and the ruddy ruins of the basilicas must be forgotten. From Juturna's fountain the white marble must be stripped. The area of the Forum must be cleared of all the monuments that we know unless the Lacus Curtius and the puteals. The temple of the sanctified Julius must revert to vacant space and the establishment of Vesta be imagined in a shabbiness of weathered tufa. The Regia, of which we cannot think without the recollection of the marble fasti that adorned its outer walls, was bare of this ornamentation for full eighteen years after the poet's arrival. In the very year of his coming he would have witnessed the demolition of the Tabernae Novae to make way for the Basilica Aemilia, built with Caesar's gold, but the elegance of the new erection must have stood for some years in strange contrast to the Tabernae Veteres across the square; they were a relic of the third century and must have seemed quaint. The truth is that Rome was not yet, architecturally, a metropolis. It might have compared favorably with Cremona but hardly with Antioch or Alexandria.

To glean some inkling of the real condition of things one must hum to himself the lines of Horace, composed some years later, about the tottering temples of the gods and the images begrimed with age and smoke:

*Delicta maiorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris
aedesque labentes deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo. Odes iii, 6.*

One must take that arid catalogue, the Monumentum Ancyranum, and peruse the long list of buildings carried out by Augustus and then read between the lines. Did he really restore some eighty temples?¹ Then in the days when Cicero was writing his *De Re*

¹ Mon. Ancy. 20.

Publica and Virgil was hearing his first lectures from the famous Epidius there must have been some eighty temples in a desperate condition of disrepair, fitter to enlighten an archaeologist than to awaken the admiration of a stranger, inspire the patriot or stimulate the pious. Take Castor's temple for example, situated where the densest traffic crossed the Forum, rendezvous of slaves and plebeians, rostra of the turbulent Clodius and his class, about which the squabbles of the mob had circled since the days of the Gracchi and longer, how much of the stucco would have been left upon it, if it was stuccoed, as has been thought? How would its shabby columns of an ancient pattern, perhaps Etruscan, perhaps square instead of round, how would they have appeared to a cultured Roman like Cicero, who had visited Miletus, Rhodes, and Athens?

The truth is that one must picture to himself in these last days of the Republic a congested and antiquated city with suburbs for the most part squalid. Prince and pauper, men of ancient birth and derelicts of society must have lived side by side, for did not Julius Caesar have his residence in the Subura and was not the Subura a byword for the high life and the low life of the capital? Above the Subura was a small, very small, fashionable quarter known as the Carinae or Ships' Bottoms, where Antony lived a few years later in Pompey's house. It was situated on the Oppian spur of the Esquiline. This spot had long been aristocratic. The patrician of Horace's seventh epistle of the first book, Lucius Marcius Philippus, had his home there and he was consul in 91 B. C. The Velian, once a royal quarter, was at this time given over to shops. On the Palatine lived Hortensius and Cicero, likewise close to the Forum. It would have been a great handicap to ambitious politicians to live at a greater distance. In the morning hours they kept open house and desired a numerous following to escort them to the Forum. Therefore the nearer the better. Hungry clients probably sought the nearest patron. In the Augustan age and later, with the decline in private entertainment and the increase of public doles, the city began to expand with rapidity.

It is true that men like the Luculli and Sallust, who had retired from public life with illicit wealth, had already withdrawn to a distance from the Forum and founded their gardens along the Pincian, but their extravagance could not have materially changed the aspect of the city. It was Maecenas himself who abolished hideousness by establishing his residence and gardens to the rear of the Esquiline on the very ground where friendless slaves, spendthrifts and criminals had mingled their dust since immemorial times. The situation was not far from the longest surviving stretch of the Servian wall, familiar to all tourists in the yards of the railway close by the Central Station, and from this district is also extant a stone of republican date bearing a praetor's edict forbidding the dumping of dead bodies or filth on the inside of a delimiting line.² Beyond the graveyard was the Roman Gallows Hill, a busy place, it may have been, in days when life was cheap. Virgil himself had a house in later days close by his patron's, but he rarely used it and may not have cared for his recollections of its former state, which one may learn in greater detail from the eighth satire of Horace's first book.

To complete the picture of Virgilian Rome one must take a swing around the Servian city well within the circle of the Aurelian Walls. The old Porta Capena would still span the Appian Way with the cold drops from the aqueduct threatening the bare neck of the passer-by, and just outside of it might have been seen the modest tomb of the Scipios with the bust of Ennius. That the poet should have neglected to pay a reverential visit to that shrine seems all but unthinkable, yet he could not have seen the Appian Way beyond the walls as we imagine it, for the originals of those ghastly ruins were with few exceptions of imperial date. The monument of Caecilia Metella he would have known in his later days perhaps, in all the freshness of recent masonry. It was Augustus, however, who built the first monumental tomb and the poet may have witnessed the first interment in it, the burial of the young Marcellus, whose untimely death is celebrated in the closing lines of the sixth Aeneid. This brings us to the Campus

² Richter, *Topographie*, p. 305.

Martius, the exploitation of which began with Pompey, who dedicated there his temple of Venus and theatre in the year preceding the arrival of the Virgil family in Rome. This was at that time the newest building in the city and the first permanent theatre, for the senatorial government, although neglectful and corrupt, clung hard to pious pretensions and insisted upon the law that banned the perpetuity of this immoral amusement. We may imagine the ambitious poet yielding to the temptation of going there with his student friends to enjoy his first sight of Ajax or Medea.

From the Pompeian theatre a short walk would have brought one to the great barracks-like voting pavilions of Julius, extending for a long way along the line of the modern Corso; Augustus used them for a zoo and exhibited there to the populace the first rhinoceros seen in Rome.³ But the Pantheon we must forget. It was post-Virgilian. In general the exploitation of this region as a monumental area was only in its beginnings.

The modern Trastevere, anciently known in its northern part as the *ager Vaticanus*, if the poet ever wandered in that direction, would have shown him potteries, brickyards, tanneries and the Jewish quarter, whose inhabitants Pompey had brought from the East. Near where St. Peter's now stands were established the gardens of the Domitian gens, soon to become notorious under Nero's regime, but we can only surmise that they were connected with the extensive suburban activity that went on under Augustus. Farther down the river, but within a mile from the lower gates, were the gardens of Caesar with Fortuna's temple and a great plebeian settlement. What sort of squalor prevailed there before the munificent dictator expended his Gallic gold to make of it a place of pleasure we cannot say, but the process falls squarely within the poet's days and he must have known the whole story. Since Horace was bound in this direction when he was endeavoring to shake off the bore of the fifth satire we may imagine that down the river was a suburban residential area of Augustan date; he mentions a villa and gardens by the Tiber in the third ode of the second book.

³ Suet. Aug. 43.

The civic administration in the last years of the republic was in harmony with the shabby appearance of the city itself and the hideous suburbs. Did Augustus select Agrippa, his most capable minister, to superintend the reconstruction of the sewers? Then the sewers must have been choked up, tumbling in, or entirely outgrown by expansion of population. Did Julius propose to regulate the course of the Tiber and did his adopted heir complete the work on a less ambitious scale? Then the unruly river must have been suffered under senatorial misgovernment to do unchecked its seasonal destruction. Did Augustus find it necessary to organize a fire department? Then fires must have been too frequent, as we know to have been the case, for did not Crassus, a prince among profiteers, make snug sums by buying in properties at bargain prices in the face of the flames?⁴ Were the aqueducts restored by Augustus? Then the populace must have suffered at times from lack of water. As a matter of fact, the patricians were tapping the aqueducts and stealing the water for their villas.

Nevertheless if the people were robbed of their water, if they were flooded out through neglect of the drains and embankments, if tier above tier of cheap apartment houses around the Quirinal, Capitol, Palatine and Aventine threatened fire, ruin and death continually, if the Forum and the city looked quaint and archaic, yet all was not squalor in Virgil's student days. The house of Pompey on the fashionable promontory of the Esquiline was adorned with beaks of captured ships like a public monument and men like the Luculli, fattened on the spoils of Asia, had establishments fit for Oriental monarchs. The truth is that Cicero, when he declares in his speech for Murena that the Romans loved magnificence in public life and economy in private, utters a pious and patriotic lie.⁵ The speaker himself, the retained counsel of a profiteering government, with his fifteen houses and his works of art collected for him by connoisseurs like Atticus, was a reckless spender who never learned the meaning of economy. It was his rich friends who began to bring colored marbles from distant quarries to support the burden of their porticoes or adorn the walls

⁴ Plut. Crassus 2.

⁵ Chap. 36 § 76.

of their villas. In public buildings such things were as yet almost unknown. Private economy was but a Roman shibboleth, private extravagance a Roman law.

In thinking of the Augustan age it is easy to overlook its great extent and the long interval between its beginning and its end. The men who composed the famous literary circle had already come together in the days when Antony was still a more imposing figure than the youthful heir of Julius, and much of the so-called Augustan literature was familiar to the world before the title of Augustus had been conferred. Virgil survived that event by only eight years while the princeps survived the poet by no less than thirty three. It is likewise easy to forget that the Augustan age of architecture, if we may so speak, falls somewhat later than the Augustan age of literature. Not until after the victory of Actium and the seizure of Cleopatra's treasure and revenues was the new ruler in a position financially to undertake rebuildings and improvements on a stupendous scale. The temple of the sanctified Julius he had built out of his private purse, no doubt, and the beautiful establishment of Apollo upon the Palatine he may have so begun, but the great majority of his undertakings necessarily dated from the years of his middle age. It follows that when the author of the unfinished epic passed forever from the scene the external grandeur of the eternal city was yet in the making, although even in the condition of incompleteness it must have seemed superb by comparison with the archaic Italic town of the style of the third century that first had met his eyes in the year of his arrival.⁶

⁶ Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* may be consulted for dates and details of buildings mentioned.

PAGEANT: *A ROMAN BIRTHDAY*¹

BY MARY LESLIE NEWTON
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Dramatis Personae

A Roman Lady; A Roman Soldier; A Swaddled Baby;
Two or Three Roman Boys; As Many Fathers and Mothers;
A Little Sister; A Maid Servant;
A Priest; Three Flamens; Three Augurs;
Two Small Attendants.

SCENE I

A Roman Garden, set with chair and cradle. Enter from rear a Roman matron, bearing a swaddled baby. She places baby in cradle; seats herself, and gazes sadly into the distance.

DOMINA: Long' abest! Long' abest vir meus! Nescio utrum castra faciat, an bellum gerat, an . . . quod omen absit! . . . fortasse perierit! Utinam ad me redeat, atque ad hunc filiolum quem adhuc non vidit!

Enters hastily a maid servant.

ANCILLA: Domina! Domina mea! Dominus adest! Ecce! Iam in limine est!

DOMINA: Nunc Deo gratias ago!

She rises and advances a few steps. The Soldier enters opposite; they meet and embrace with silent emotion. Parting, each steps backward a single pace.

DOMINA: Salve, Domine!

MILES: Salve, carissima!

DOMINA: Ecce!

She steps back and signs to the maid servant, who lifts the swaddled child and lays it at the master's feet. The lady kneels beside the child, looking downward. The master looks from her to it; stoops, and lifts the child.

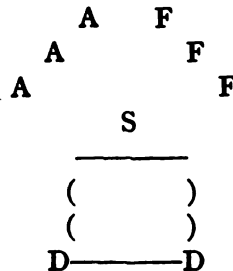
MILES: Fillium habeo. Eum agnosco. Gente Claudius est; stirpe Marcellus; ei nomen Marco adiungo. En Marcus Claudius Marcellus!

¹ See under *Current Events*.

As he says the last words, he lifts the child solemnly (in a horizontal position) towards heaven. Slowly lowering him, he puts around his neck a bulla, mutely offered by the mother; and delivers him into the arms of the mother, who does not look up until then. She in turn puts him into the arms of the maid, and rises slowly. Taking the left hand of her husband in both hers, she goes off with him in direction opposite to entrance. The servant follows with the child.

SCENE II

A Slope on the Capitoline Hill; set with square altar, on which a fire of dry twigs is set but unlighted, and with the coop of sacred chickens. Enter in slow procession from rear, a small attendant; three augurs, bearing scrolls; a second small attendant; three flamens, with unlighted torches, a priest. The first attendant carries togas; the second a lighted brazier, smoking with incense. All take positions as marked in diagram.



C

After a moment's silence, each bows his head forward, the priest veiling his with a square of white stuff given him by the first attendant, and lifting both hands, palm uppermost. Then he lifts his head and lowers his hands.

SACERDOS: Auspicia temptentur!

The three augurs come slowly forward. The first and second stand with backs toward each other (not too close), before the altar; each shades his eyes with his right hand, and looks intently upward. The third crosses to left, puts his hand into his breast, and draws out grain. The first attendant kneels down and opens the coop. The augur watches the cock closely. Presently he goes centre front, and all three augurs face the altar and priest.

AUGUR PRIMUS: Auspicia bona sunt!

AUGUR SECUNDUS: Auspicia bona sunt!

AUGUR TERTIUS: Auspicia optima sunt!

SACERDOS: Auspicia deorum optima sunt!

(*To augurs*): Bene dixisti. Abite.

} *All in loud tones
of formal procla-
mation*

The augurs and attendant go slowly back to their first positions. From either side begin to enter the boys, each with father and mother, or father alone. With one is a little sister, clinging to his hand. They stand in no regular order, facing the altar and priest. The priest's head is again bowed. When all have assembled, one father speaks.

PATER: Sacerdos! Sanctissime! Adsumus! Pueri Romani adsunt!

SACERDOS: Auspicia optima sunt. Estisne parati?

Pueri: Adsumus. Parati sumus.

SACERDOS: Progredimini.

The boys advance, and stand with bowed heads before the altar, not too close. The parents fall back to the right. The little sister pushes forward in the group to see, still holding fast to someone's hand.

SACERDOS: Non iam pueri estis, sed adulescentes. Vultisne pro patria vivere, pro patria pugnare, pro patria mori?

PUERI: Volumus.

PUER PRIMUS: Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!

SACERDOS: Bene dixisti. Nolite iam pueri esse, sed viri. Cives Romani eritis omnes. O Iuppiter Maxime, O Quirine, cuius stirpe nos Romani orti sumus, hos accipiat, filios vestros!

He again lifts up level palms as he makes this prayer. Then to the boys he adds:

Posthac vobis non usus est his bullis, quae vestigia sunt pueritiae. Eas deponite.

One by one, the boys come forward and lay their bullas before the altar.

Accipite togas civium Romanorum.

Each boy puts off his "toga praetexta," and receives from the first attendant (discipulus) a "toga virilis," which he puts on with the assistance of the discipulus.

PUER SECUNDUS:

(As he puts off his toga praetexta):

Iterum clavum purpureum habebō cum Consul ero!

SACERDOS: Cives estis. Vos pro civibus agite. Valetē; valetē!

PUERI: Vale, sanctissime!

The boys rejoin their parents at the right. The little sister runs out to grasp her brother's hand.

SORORCULA: Ave, mi frater!

SACERDOS: Flammae novae in aris Patriae sunt. O Flamines, officiis satisfacite!

The three flamens come slowly forward; light their torches in turn at the brazier of the second discipulus, and, together, kindle the flame on the altar. As the fire burns up, the family groups, one by one, go off as they came; the little sister hanging back to the last moment to watch the altar and the priest. Finally the procession of priests also moves away, disappearing up the hill in single file, the flamens bearing high their lighted torches; the priest last.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

LIVY II, 13, 10

Productis omnibus eligisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat, eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste, quae maxime opportuna iniuriae esset.

The construction and meaning of this passage telling of Cloelia's selection of young boys from among the hostages held by Tarquin is not clearly or adequately explained, at least in our school editions. Dennison renders *probabile* "approved"; so also the Weissenborn-Müller edition. The correct shade of meaning is brought out by the rendering in the Predeville-Freese edition; "a selection which reflected honour on her maiden delicacy and was one likely to be approved of by the unanimous consent of the hostages themselves." This is excellent as far as it goes but the *quod* is evidently construed as a relative pronoun. One therefore finds himself in difficulties on reaching the words *probabile erat*, a phrase which already has as its subject the clause *aetatem liberari*. In reality the *quod* is causal giving Livy's explanation of Cloelia's selection of the young boys, "because it was on the one hand seemly to her maidenly modesty, and on the other the plan of freeing those of an age most sure to suffer harm was likely to be approved by the unanimous consent of the hostages themselves."

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SUETONIUS IULIUS 52.1

This passage, dealing with Caesar's amours, reads as follows:

dilexit et reginas, inter quas Eunoen Mauram Bogudis uxorem, cui maritoque eius plurima et immensa tribuit, ut Naso scripsit.

The Naso mentioned is, it is assumed, the Marcus Actorius Naso cited by Suetonius in *Iulius* 9.3 as a source with reference to Caesar's participation in the so-called *superior coniuratio*. Apparently Naso is mentioned only in these two passages in all classical literature.

This fact becomes the more striking when we observe that in the passage under consideration none of the good MSS read *Naso*, and absolutely none at all furnish us a key to the correct *cognomen* by giving either the *praenomen* or the *nomen*. In chapter 9 there is no question of the reading. But knowing as little as we do about *Naso*, merely the little that may be gleaned from chapter 9, we cannot feel at all certain that he is the author of a voluminous *Anti-Caesar*. That he was hostile to Caesar seems clear from Chapter 9, and that he wrote of Caesar's plots with Piso, but this gives us no warrant for accepting without question the statement that he also wrote of Caesar's amours in Africa and the gifts he made to Eunoë and her husband, Bogud.

The MS readings as given by Ihm (1907) are as follows:

Naso—ξ(Mancinellus)

vasa—[apparently corrected from *vasu*]*—M*
(earlier scholars took it as *uasta*)

vasa—X' T

vasas—G

Accordingly, we see that not a single one of the eleven MSS which Ihm considers of major authority reads *Naso*.¹

The thought has suggested itself to me that *Varus* may be the correct reading. It is to be noted that, according to Ihm, the original reading of M was apparently *vasu*; this would differ from the name *Varus* in but two respects: (1) the loss of final *s*, and (2) the substitution of *s* for *r*. But in reference to the first of these we have aid in the fact that G reads *vasas*, retaining the final *s*. Moreover, in Ihm's larger edition (p. XXXVII) numerous instances are cited where all MSS or M alone lost final *s*. The substitution of *s* for *r* has other examples in the MSS of Suetonius, as Ihm shows (p. XLVII).

Palaeographically *Varus* is, it seems to me, better than *Naso*, the latter implying that *u* was substituted for *n*, and *a* for *o*; the latter is a common enough error, but in regard to the former this (says Ihm, p. XLVIII) is the only instance in M, though found in the other MSS. The fact, however, that M, our oldest and best MS, has nowhere else made the mistake which must be accepted as made here if we read *Naso*, also tends to make us hesitate to accept this reading.

Who then is this *Varus*, whose name would be substituted for that of *Naso*? He is Publius Attius Varus, one of Pompey's officers in the Civil War; his hostility to Caesar is clear enough. He it was who commanded the army in Africa which participated in the successful struggle with Curio's force; later, (indeed at the very time Caesar was fighting the African War against Scipio and Juba) Varus was fleet commander off the coast of Africa (*Bell. Afr.* 44, 62, 63). Finally he participated in the Spanish War and was slain at Munda.

We have seen that he was hostile to Caesar, and that he had contact with Africa both as general against Curio, and as admiral off its coast. Accordingly, opportunity clearly existed for him to hear tales of Caesar's relations with Eunoe, wife of Bogud, King of Mauretania.

But Varus' contact with Africa went back even several years earlier, when he was propraetor there; this enabled him to acquire a particular knowledge of the country and the people. Says Caesar (*B. C. I.* 31) concerning the time when Varus came to Africa and at once raised two legions by a levy; *hominum et locorum notitia et usu eius provinciae nactus aditus ad ea conanda, quod paucis ante annis ex praetura eam provinciam obtinuerat.*

The fact that with the reading *Naso* this man would be named merely by his *cognomen* would, to be sure, have warrant in our author; when a person has been mentioned once by *praenomen* (or *nomen*) and *cognomen* and is later referred to, Suetonius frequently uses the *cognomen* only. In

¹ All editions to which I have had access read *Naso*, save the *editio Basiliensis* of 1546 (†*Vasa*) and the *editio Gryphiana* of 1547 (*Vasa*); the *editiones principes* (*Ven. I* and *Rom.*) read *et vasa*. Bentley favored *Vasta*; Heinsius suggested *Vassa* or *Valia*. *Naso* was accepted among early scholars by Pulmannus, Torrentius, and Casaubon.

fact there are three instances in the life of Julius where the gap between the first mention and the second is approximately as great as that which would be postulated here between chapter 9 (*M. Actorius Naso*) and chapter 52 (*Naso*).³ But this particular name *Naso*, used at so great a distance from the mention of *M. Actorius Naso*, is far more likely to suggest the poet Ovid, who is again and again referred to by this name alone, both in his own writings (*Am.* I. 11. 27, II. 1. 2; *Tristia* I. 7. 10, II. 119; *Ex Ponto* I. 1. 1, etc.) and in those of others (*Martial* I. 61. 6, V. 10. 10, XII. 44. 6; *Statius Silvae* I. 2. 255; *Sidonius Carm.* 23. 159, etc.) As against these references to Ovid by the name *Naso*, we have not a single mention of *M. Actorius Naso* in all classical literature save that in chapter 9 of this life, and there he is given his full name; accordingly, if one should read *Naso* forty-three chapters after the mention of this obscure writer, would he not as a matter of course associate it with Ovid, so often called by this name?

On the other hand, there are in *Iulius* (which may perhaps be taken in this respect as typical of Suetonius' usage) nine instances of persons who are never referred to by more than a single name;⁴ these are *Sertorium* (5), *Cicero* (9.2), *Axiom* (9.2), *Catiline* (14.1), *Scipionem* (35.2), *Mamurra* (73), *Pitholai* (75.5), *Pacuvii* (84.2), and *Acili* (84.2). To this class the proposed reading *Varus* would belong.

It must be remembered that *Varus* is mentioned frequently in Caesar's *Bellum Civile* and in Cicero's *Pro Q. Ligario*; in the former, when first mentioned he is called by the single name *Attius* (I. 12. 3), and then *Attium Varum* (I. 13. 1). Caesar uses *Attius* alone with reference to him twice,⁵ *P. Attius* three times,⁶ *Attius Varus* twice,⁷ *P. Attius Varus* once,⁷ and *Varus* alone fifteen times.⁸ Accordingly, on reading *Varus* one is far more likely to think of this man, who is so frequently spoken of by this name alone, than on reading *Naso* to think of *M. Actorius Naso*.

Varus was Caesar's enemy, knew the country and people of Africa well, had been propraetor of that province, was later general there, and then commanded the fleet off its coast. It was he, I believe, who picked up the tale of Caesar's extravagant gifts to Eunoë, his reputed mistress, and her husband, king Bogud, and this tale told by him Suetonius found, probably in some secondary source, and incorporated into his biography of Caesar.

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³ There is a gap of forty-one chapters between the reference to Afranius and Petreius in chapter 34 and that in chapter 75, one of forty-five chapters between the reference to Dolabella in chapter 4 and that in chapter 49, and one of forty-eight chapters between the reference to Faustus Sulla in chapter 27 and that in chapter 75.

⁴ In this list are omitted all cases where a single name is used but a defining noun or clause added, e. g. *magistri equitum Lepidi* (82.4), *Cinnæ quater consulis* (1.1), *Titurnio et Aurunculeio legatis* (25.2).

⁵ I. 12. 3 and II. 28. 3.

⁶ II. 23. 3, II. 34. 2, II. 36. 2.

⁷ I. 31. 2 and II. 27. 1.

⁸ II. 23. 1.

⁹ I. 13. 2, I. 13. 4, II. 25. 1, II. 25. 3, II. 28. 1, II. 30. 2, II. 33. 3 (deleting *Attius* with Meusel), II. 34. 3, II. 34. 7, II. 35. 1, II. 35. 2, II. 35. 6, II. 43. 2, II. 44. 1, and II. 44. 2.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States, Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Long Beach.—The Long Beach Polytechnic High School has a thoroughly alive and progressive Latin club. Last spring, under the direction of their Latin instructor, Miss Florence Kimball, and with the assistance of the Applied Art class, they gave an entertainment in four parts: (1) Vestal Virgins' Ceremony to the Gods, (2) Miss Paxson's play, "A Roman Wedding," (3) Greek Maidens Playing Ball—a Classic Festival, (4) Classic Frieze. The club has previously given "A Roman School" and has planned to give a Roman banquet.

Colorado

Denver.—Miss Myrna C. Langley, of the North Side High School, writes: "The North Side High School has for some time been silent, but not inactive. Since our last report, we have made and shown Miss Sabin's exhibit, 'The Practical Value of Latin,' to which we added a number of cards. The cards were hung in the wide corridors of our building, where they were constantly surrounded by curious and admiring crowds. They remained up for some weeks and were visited by other high schools and by several grade schools in the city.

Last year we organized a large Latin club. It meets at the assembly period, which is about half an hour in length and gives time for a short, snappy program. In the spring, with our dues of fifteen cents, we bought the Life of Julius Caesar set of the Eastman slides. We had six programs last year, given by the different classes in turn. The Virgil class started with a dialogue between a school boy and the spirits of Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil, each pointing out to the boy the pleasures in store for him. Virgil had the best of it, because he went to the lantern and showed a number of the Virgil set of the Eastman slides which the Welfare Girls of our school had presented to the Latin department. Our program for the year included among other things, 'The School Boy's Dream,' the play 'Rex Helvetiorum,' 'Pome of a Possum,' papers on Roman Festivals, Meals, Caesar's Life and Mother

Goose in Latin, costumed and acted. For the Caesar program, one of the boys in the class wrote a very clever play called, "What Comes After What?", showing grammatical relationships by having pupils impersonate case forms and prepositions. We sang 'Gaudeamus' and the other classic songs, as well as the Latinized 'Bubbles,' 'Roma Ardet,' etc. The last program was especially liked. As a girl recited a few stanzas from the close of Matthew Arnold's 'Empedocles on Aetna,' the Muses filed in inappropriate costumes, led by Apollo. Apollo then described himself by quoting from Childe Harold, and each Muse gave a verse to describe herself. Then we gave a thriller, 'Pyramus and Thisbe,' turned into Latin by two members of the Virgil class and acted most realistically.

The Club has reorganized this year, two hundred strong and has already given the play 'Orgetorix.' We hope to have a public entertainment this winter.

The Latin department this year has a column in our school paper, the North Star, which is proving to be a very lively part of the paper. It has two editors in the Virgil class, and a reporter in each Latin section.

On October 14, the Virgil class celebrated Virgil's birthday by songs, a mythology game, at which little classical figures were given as prizes, and by the ever thrilling 'Sortes Virgilianae,' when lots made up of lines from Virgil were drawn by members of the class."

Illinois

Litchfield.—Miss Edith Dougherty, of the Litchfield High School, writes of a novel plan of mutual help and promotion of a community of interest between the different classes in Latin which is heartily to be commended to all teachers. Miss Dougherty writes: "I had my freshman class in Latin learn some anecdotes and go before the senior class and recite them. Also a junior girl went before the freshman class and delivered an address of her own composing." This address is so well conceived and expressed, and so clearly put the pith of the matter of mastering the fundamentals once for all in the first year, that we deem it worthy of a place, entire, in our pages.

Some of you first year Latin pupils have been so good as to visit our class in Vergil and tell us some of the things that you have been learning. We appreciated that, every one of us, and we want to thank you for coming.

Lately I have heard several of the members of the Junior class make statements that I thought would be of interest to you. Therefore, I am going to tell you what some of them said. One Junior girl who is taking Vergil this year has to work very hard at it, though she really enjoys it. She said to me one day: "I wish that I had done a better job on my first year Latin, I know I wouldn't have to work *half* so hard now if I had worked harder then." I believe that that is the general feeling among those taking the more advanced Latin. We want you to know that we feel that way about it. One reason that I came here this morning was to urge all of you really to master the work assigned. Of course lots of the things that you are asked to learn sound perfectly senseless to you at first. But you can take my word for it that they are not. I feel quite sure that none of us have been asked to do anything without good reason.

Another reason for my coming here was that I wanted to urge you *not* to drop your Latin course. You may not see any reasons for continuing with it, but there are

reasons, and good ones. I happen to know of one girl who was in our Latin class during the first two years. She did exceptionally good work both years, but could not be persuaded to continue it this year. She said to me one day: "But what's the use? You will never need your Latin. People don't talk Latin. What good will it do you?"

No arguments could convince her then, but only last week she said: "I'm disappointed in my course this year. I wish now that I had taken Latin, instead of one of my other subjects. I feel as if I'd almost wasted those two years, for it won't do me nearly so much good as if I'd taken more of it."

We feel quite sure that some of you will be tempted to make the same mistake. But don't do it. There are many reasons for going on.

In the first place, the knowledge of the old stories and the classic myths which one derives from a study of Vergil is in itself worth having. When you come to your course in third year English, you will find that you have to know any number of classical allusions. And I believe that those of the Latin class who are doing that work will testify to the fact that it is two or three times as easy for us to remember the myths as it is for those who are not taking Latin.

Of course in this way you are helped to a clearer understanding of much of the great literature. But you are also helped in your reading in another way. Of course you can not be a really good reader unless you know words. And you have no idea how greatly a study of Latin broadens your vocabulary. The more Latin you take, the easier all your work in English becomes for you.

In a general way, these things affect all of us. But I imagine that I hear some of you saying: "But I'm going into business. Anyway, I don't care much for reading of any kind." Don't you realize that the United States is not cut off entirely from other countries? We are not self-supporting. We depend upon other countries for certain products, while they in turn are dependent upon us. From now on our country will probably play a more and more important part in international affairs. Then, isn't it quite likely that the person who will rise highest in business affairs—and I'm sure you don't want to stay in the bottom rank forever—will be one who knows one or more languages other than his own? But what has that to do with Latin? Just this: About seventy-five or eighty percent of Spanish, French, or Italian comes directly from Latin. Wouldn't it be easier to learn twenty or twenty-five per cent of a language than to learn it all? I think that sounds quite reasonable, don't you?

And really, if you have done a good, thorough job on your first year of Latin, you don't need to dread the second, or the third, or the fourth. Thus far, it has seemed to me that the more Latin one takes, the easier it becomes. Two years from now, I hope there will be more than nine pupils in the Vergil class, as we have now. Make up your mind now that you won't be satisfied until you have completed the four year course, and then stick to your resolution. You'll never be sorry, I'll assure you. But remember that you can't expect to enjoy your advanced work greatly or to get the most out of it unless you go after this work and conquer it. Don't neglect any of it. If you really master this, I know that you'll be repaid many times.

Minnesota

Minneapolis.—The first meeting of the Twin City Classical Club was addressed by Mr. E. Dudley Parsons, an English teacher of West High School, who had just returned from a summer spent in Spain. Mr. Parson's subject was "The Eternal Latin." He introduced his subject with the prediction that by the year 2000 A. D. Spanish would be the world language. His

reasons for this were the increasing enrollment in high school Spanish classes, and statistics based on the resources of Great Britain, Canada, the United States and Australia, favoring the English language compared with those of Spain, Central and South America, which would foster Spanish speaking populations. Regardless of any difference of opinion, the speaker's figures were ingeniously and interestingly arrayed. Great Britain, he claimed, had reached the "saturation point" in population. Canada was a land two-thirds ice and snow. The United States is a babel of languages, destined through trade with South America to become predominantly Spanish. Australia is one-half desert. India will be lost to Great Britain.

As may be easily inferred, "The Eternal Latin" is best reflected in the language of sunny Spain. As Mr. Parsons developed this point of his theme, the writer was reminded of a remark made by Dr. Paul Shorey who said that one who had anywhere nearly mastered the Latin language need take no course in Spanish prior to a sojourn in Spain. All he had required, when he made his first trip to that land, was an elementary Spanish reader from which, within a few hours as his train wended its way from France, he obtained enough Spanish to enable him to make his way about very comfortably.

The Central High Latin Club opened its fifth year with two programs which were well received. In the first the new members were initiated in a most cruel and extraordinary manner,—at least, so the girl members thought. The long line of initiates, each holding a saucer which contained a bit of water and whose under surface was richly laden with soot obtained from a smoking candle, were told to "look the executioner in the eye and follow his every movement." As the executioner, with unblackened finger, performed the mystic signs about the prominent portions of his face, the results portrayed on the faces of the initiates were all that the expectant audience could desire! A prize of half a brick of ice-cream was offered for the greatest number of correct Latin equivalents of various parts of the body which one boy pointed out on another's person. In the second meeting a boy opened the program with a Chopin Polonaise, Opus 40, No. 1. A girl gave a classic dance, followed by a Spanish dance of more modern style. A boy gave a comic reading in Latin, and then all tried to solve a barrage of Latin conundrums.

A class in Greek has been started at Central High School. In addition to the regular technical work, occasional lectures are given on Greek art, literature, and philosophy. It is hoped that by varying the nature of the work, weaving in a judicious amount of the beautiful and entertaining side of the subject, the language may be revived and hold again a place of its own.

Mississippi

Vicksburg.—Miss Mary Leslie Newton of All Saints' College sends us the following account of a pageant written for and presented by her first year high school class as their share in the high school commencement exercises. The pageant was entitled "A Roman Birthday," and the text, composed by Miss Newton, will be found elsewhere in this number of the JOURNAL. "The Caesar class offered Miss Lawler's *Rex Helvetiorum*, but we could find nothing quite suitable for the First Year, which should be ex-

tremely simple, and at the same time more or less true to Latin life. The two older classes offered respectively a French play and an allegorical pageant, the latter of which was given outdoors on the same afternoon as the two little Latin plays. Our playground offers a natural amphitheatre, the players acting on the rather gentle slope where two comparatively steep tree-covered hills meet, and the audience being seated on the level ground below. Thus the scenery needed little shift for the different scenes; and the procession of priests with lighted torches, winding up the green hill at the close, was very effective.

Ohio

Athens.—There have been some changes in the department of Latin in Ohio University. Dafydd J. Evans, formerly Professor of Latin, has retired after a long and useful service. Latin and Greek have been combined into one department under Professor Victor D. Hill, and the work has been strengthened by the addition of Harry Fletcher Scott, formerly of the University of Chicago High School, as Associate Professor.

On the retirement of Dr. Evans the faculty and alumni of the University raised a sum of money the proceeds of which are to provide a prize for excellence of attainment in Latin studies in the University. This is known as the Dafydd J. Evans Latin Prize and will amount to \$31.20 each year.

On Friday, September 30, under the auspices of the Classical Club of the University there was brought to Athens George Kleine's "Julius Caesar." This is a full six reel-photoplay portraying the military and social life of Julius Caesar from his early marriage at the time of Sulla through his candidacy for consulship, the first triumvirate, the Gallic War, the Civil War, and the conspiracy which brought about his death. The picture is full of interest as well as educational value and has had many commendations from people whose interests are not particularly classical.

Delaware.—The Latin Club of Ohio Wesleyan University held its first meeting of the college year on October 13th, when it welcomed new members and made plans by which the membership of the club will be greatly increased. Plans for the year include the performance of a Christmas Morality Play, recently arranged by Professor Robinson, to celebrate the Christmas Season as the Easter Season is now annually observed by the performance of "Christus Triumphator."

In connection with this, readers of the JOURNAL will be interested to know that Professor Robinson has just published a pamphlet entitled: "Plays and Songs for Latin Clubs." This collection contains "Christus Parvulus," a Morality Play of the Nativity; "Christus Triumphator," a Morality Play of the Resurrection; "Pyramus and Thisbe"; and "Horatius Implicitus," a dramatization of Satire IX, Book I, of the Satires of Horace. Included in the collection are four Christmas Carols, translated into Latin by Professor Robinson, useful for clubs which are in need of such material. These carols are translations of "Joy to the World," "Hark, the Herald Angels Sing," "Silent Night," and "There's a Song in the Air."

Three Fellowships in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens will be offered in 1922-23.

One Fellowship in Architecture with a stipend of \$1500. Information about the requirements may be obtained by addressing Professor Edward Capps, Princeton, N. J.

Two Fellowships in Greek Archaeology, each of \$1000. These will be awarded partly on the basis of a competitive examination which will be given March 20-22, 1922. Each candidate must take the examination in Modern Greek and in any three of the following six subjects: General Greek Archaeology, Greek Architecture, Greek Epigraphy, Pausanias, Book I, and the Topography and Monuments of Ancient Athens, Greek Sculpture, and Greek Vases. Application for admission to the examination must be made not later than February 1, 1922, to the Chairman of the Committee on Fellowships, Professor Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, to whom all inquiries and communications with regard to the Fellowships in Greek Archaeology should be addressed.

The annual meeting of the Classical Association of Great Britain was held this year at Cambridge University, August 2-5. The American Philological Association had been requested to participate and something like a score of its members were in attendance. The American delegates will not soon forget the hospitality that was extended to them. We were entertained absolutely without expense to ourselves in the various colleges of the University. The group in which I was included enjoyed the hospitality of St. John's College, where we dined in hall with the fellows and took our other meals more informally but with even greater good fellowship in the combination room.

The evening of August 2 was devoted to a reception given by Vice-chancellor and Mrs. Percy Giles at Emmanuel College. The sessions opened next morning with an address by the Vice-chancellor in which he made appreciative reference to Professors Gildersleeve and Henry Jackson. He was followed by Professor C. J. Smith, *emeritus*, of Wisconsin, who brought the greetings of the American Philological Association in a tactful and admirably phrased address in which he included a tribute to Professor Gildersleeve. He closed with an appeal for help and sympathy to German scholars. His words gained a pathetic emphasis later in the meeting when a pitiful letter from a Breslau professor was read to the meeting. "We cannot live," it said, "and I am near to despair! Can't something be done for us?"

After the reading of a letter from Dean West, relative to the Classical League, President-elect Walter Leaf of the British Association, not the least of the British bankers who have also done brilliant work in the classics, delivered a masterly address on "Classics and Realities." He emphasized the demand of the working men themselves for a classical education. Translation is practice in putting oneself into another man's place and thinking his thoughts. The value of such training is recognized by those business men who want men who can deal with men. The highest science is not, as men were prone to believe in war time, the chemistry of fats, but the biology of mankind,—the study of human development. Of this study the classics form a very important part. Their success is conditional upon our keeping awake in society at large a widespread and general curiosity. The paper

closed with a masterly and expert discussion of certain passages relating to ancient Greek banking and a plea for a history of that subject.

The afternoon was marked by a debate on the position of the classics, especially Greek. To the American delegates the tone and content of the discussion were sadly familiar. Our English brethren are beginning to feel the pinch that we have experienced for nearly a score of years. Professor John Harrower of Aberdeen University opened the discussion. He urged that we make no false claims in our fight for Greek. Our surest asset and argument is the substantial value of the literature. A professor from Canada offered somewhat pessimistic remarks on the situation in the Dominion, and another from South Australia described how he lost his fight for Greek at Adelaide. He championed a separate faculty of languages instead of a composite faculty of arts and sciences. He had been defeated by the professors of chemistry and physics and economics and by certain others who professed nothing in particular. The discussion was continued next afternoon with the usual inconclusive result of such jeremiads.

The evening meeting was held in the Archaeological Museum and consisted of two illustrated lectures, one on *The Underground Basilica* near the *Porta Maggiore*, by Mrs. Arthur Strong, of the British School at Rome; the other on the characteristics of some ancient Italian Cities by Professor A. W. Van Buren of the American Academy at Rome.

On August 4, Professor Housman spoke on the *Application of Thought to Textual Criticism*, in which he made depreciatory remarks about emendation that is based chiefly on palaeographical considerations. Professor Conway spoke on *Livy as a historical Critic* and combatted the depreciation of Livy that was fashionable in the nineteenth century. Livy was interested not so much in law or institutions as in men and women,—a subject for which that century cared comparatively little. The speaker adduced instances of unfair criticism by Mommsen, whose prejudice has vitiated Livian criticism for half a century.

Professor Glover read a paper on "*After Alexander*," and Professor Cornford another on the interpretation of Greek religion. It was amusingly punctuated by frequent and fervent *amens* from Professor Ridgeway whenever the speaker mentioned some position or dogma opposed to his own.

The American papers were interesting and well presented. They included *Elegiac Style* by Professor Wheeler of Bryn Mawr, a paper by Professor Calhoun of California in which he denied that Greek criminal law originated in religious considerations, and a brilliant and witty essay on *Venantius Fortunatus* by Professor Rand of Harvard.

There was a reception in Gouville and Caius College on the afternoon of August 4 by Sir William and Lady Ridgeway, and another on August 5 in the hall of Kings College by invitation of the provost, Sir Walter Durnford, and the fellows of the college.

J. W. HEWITT.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Hints for Teachers

Edited by B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

Three years ago an Iowa school superintendent wrote: "A boy will take 'Word Analysis' but dreads 'Latin.' Let us make Latin more practical—not drop it. We might call it 'Word Analysis' the first year."

Last spring a teacher wrote as follows: "I have for a long time felt the need of some course in our High School that would assist pupils in the mastery of English and it has occurred to me that an old-fashioned study of roots, prefixes and suffixes would answer this long-felt need. I wish this course to be of interest to pupils who find our courses in Latin too difficult and yet wish to understand English." I replied to the effect that in my opinion it was neither necessary nor desirable to develop a special non-Latin course, but that the teaching of Latin should be revised so as to meet the need suggested. What is good for some pupils is good for all. Experience has shown that Latin is very valuable for English, especially if attention is given to the correlation. Experience has also shown that courses in word study apart from Latin have done little good. If I am not mistaken word study used to be outlined as part of the English work in New York State but was dropped. It has recently been provided for in connection with Latin. It has always been true that when Latin and Greek teachers have succeeded with some phase of their work some one has promptly appeared to separate that successful phase from Latin and Greek. The talk about word study at present is a proof that Latin teachers are succeeding in making Latin practical. I agree heartily with the superintendent who wanted to make Latin practical. But it is not necessary to disguise it under another name. If Latin is properly taught students will not dread it.

If every Latin teacher will do all that is possible in making Latin valuable for English there will be no need for special courses. As I see it, it is a vital matter for us to do this and to discourage special courses in word study, especially when these are given, as they will be, by teachers who do not know a word of Latin and who are hostile to it.

Parallels

Even the newspaper "comics," most modern of "literary" forms and most potent in their influence, seem to borrow from the Classics. One of them recently showed a callow youth philosophizing on the queerness of life: "There's that fat Gwendolyn Sweet—she follows me around like a shadow—and I don't care one snap about her. Then take Lillums—she's one of the sweetest creatures in nine states—but you catch her throwin' herself at me—no siree." This is very much like Horace, *Carm.* I. 33:

Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholoen: sed prius Apulis
Iungentur capreae lupis,
Quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero.

Third Semester Latin

The practical point of this discussion is in the last paragraph, but it needs a bit of introduction.

It is a familiar fact that conditions in our high schools are not what they used to be. Vast numbers of students now go to high school who would not have gone beyond the eighth grade a generation ago. They are intellectually or at least linguistically inferior and they bring down the level of achievement. The enrichment of the curriculum has also brought a lower standard. There are more distractions than there used to be. These and other factors have in many cases slowed up the Latin work in spite of the improvement in text books and methods.

Even in the good old days it was often found difficult adequately to prepare students for Caesar in one year. We have long been hearing about "bridging the gap between the first year and Caesar." It may readily be seen that in our present situation the gap is still greater. Not even the beginning books whose one expressed aim is to prepare for Caesar have solved the problem. In many schools the only practicable solution is to increase the time given to the elementary work by putting some of it in the second year and to decrease the amount of Caesar to be read. It is true that in some schools the problem does not exist because of a combination of favorable circumstances, such as a long school year, long periods, good teaching, good students. In such schools it would be a crime to dilute the course of study.

There is no question that there is now a strong tendency to extend the elementary work as indicated. For example, the Syllabus for the schools of the state of New York requires thirty pages of easy reading for the third half year, including Ritchie's *The Argonauts*, Nepos' *Hannibal*, Caesar I 1-12, 23-29, 50-54, a total of only 24 chapters of Caesar.

The question now seems to be whether a maximum of three half years shall be devoted to elementary Latin and "easy reading" (such as *Fabulae Faciles*, *Viri Romae*, simplified Caesar) or whether two whole years shall be given to them. As between the two possibilities I am decidedly in favor of the former and opposed to the latter. For one thing I believe that three

half years are sufficient. Again we must remember that by far the greatest number of our students take Latin for two years only. It seems wrong that such students should never read a continuous passage of genuine Classical Latin. I am not pleading for Cæsar. I should be willing to omit Cæsar entirely if a satisfactory substitute could be found.

But the real purpose of this discussion is to be indicated in this final paragraph. Granting that in the third half year Cæsar should be eliminated entirely or in part, of what should the work consist? In the first place there must be a thorough review of the vocabulary, inflections and syntax studied in the first year. Then there must be a continuation of the systematic methods of the first year in learning new vocabulary, inflections and syntax. This is a very important point. Finally there must be a considerable amount of "easy reading." The order indicated above is not, of course, intended to be chronological. The study of vocabulary and grammar will be taken up in connection with the reading. The problem is what to read. Ritchie's *Fabulae Faciles*, Lhomond's *Viri Romae*, and other simplified versions of Roman history have been used. This and other material is to be found in several second-year books now on the market. I feel rather dubious about *Fabulae Faciles*. Are they interesting and worth while in themselves, are the vocabulary and syntax important, and most of all, are the students who read them better prepared to read Cæsar or other Classical Latin? Teachers who have tried this and other reading can help their fellow-teachers a great deal by writing me in some detail about their experience.

Virgil Notebooks

Miss Edith M. Sanford, of the New Haven, Conn., High School, writes:

For four years my pupils have made illustrated notebooks in connection with their study of the *Aeneid*. Before school begins I order sixty pictures for each member of my class. By ordering from both the University Prints Company and from the Thompson Company of Syracuse, a much greater variety of pictures may be obtained. Sixty pictures are required but I tell the pupils that they may buy as many more as they wish and usually they buy nearly twice that number. I have a list of about 250 pictures from which they make their selection. Two or three different methods of treatment are suggested but I tell them that they are free to use their own ideas, and I have never found two books in which the pictures were arranged in the same order or in which the subject matter was treated in the same way. For instance, I suggest that the first page may have upon it a picture of Calliope, of Parnassus, of Juno, or of Virgil. That suggests four different methods of approach to the story. Often, while we are discussing in class the thought of the passage read, I suggest a picture or a quotation or a story for the book. Each book of the *Aeneid* has a distinctive and suggestive picture on its introductory page; as, Book I, "Juno"; Book II, "Aeneas at the Court of Dido"; Book III, "Apollo"; Book IV, "Melpomene"; Book V, "The Discobolus"; Book VI, "The Cumaean Sibyl." Under each picture is a quotation which may be either Latin from the text or an English translation taken from Dryden's *Aeneid*. We set off a certain number of pages at the back of the book for the Latin quotations which are learned, for a certain number of lines of scansion from each book, for figures of speech with examples from the text, and for allusions to Virgil in modern English.

A few pupils have given short sketches of the lives of the artists but this is not required. Some of the students who have the talent have decorated the pages fittingly in water colors or pen and ink. On a page of narrative dealing with Juno we have a peacock; with Athena an owl; with Bacchus a stem of grapes; with Iris a rainbow, etc. A framed picture is given as a prize at the close of the year to the pupil whose book is adjudged best by three judges. My Cicero classes have made notebooks in somewhat the same way. I feel that it is exceedingly valuable work and would be worth while for the knowledge gained about pictures, even if we did not consider the much keener interest in the subject in general and the improved knowledge of mythology, which is so much clearer than it ever could be by the usual method of study.

Miss Marion A. Dean, of the Bennington, Vt., High School, writes:

The secondary school Latin course which seems especially to offer an opportunity for literary appreciation is that in Virgil's *Aeneid*. An adaptation of a notebook plan which I followed in college for the study of Horace works out very profitably in connection with the *Aeneid*, Book I. It can easily be used with the other books if time permits.

Book I lends itself to a division into twelve parts distinct enough to be called word picture groups. In the student's notebook each part may be headed *Pars Prima*, *Pars Secunda*, etc. Each division is then studied carefully and the results are written out under the following eight outline headings, with a brief explanation of each: I. *Argumentum*, an appropriate, original title, such as "The Wrath of Juno," "Juno's Visit to Aeolus," "The Storm," ending with "The Feast in Dido's Palace," which is the last of the twelve divisions; II. *Metrica*, the first verse with scansion indicated; III. *Construiones*, note made of the important grammatical constructions; IV. *Notanda*, myths, references, irregularities in scansion or syntax; V. *Verba Ardentia*, quoted passages from the "Aeneid"; VI. *Graphica*, names of illustrations; VII. *Similia*, imitations in English poetry and prose; VIII. *Me Iudice*, an original bit of poetry which may embody the main thought of the passage or may be a personal estimate or criticism. This need not consist of more than four lines; yet it will serve its purpose in giving the student a new means of expression and arousing interest and competition.

Hints for *Similia* are to be found in the notes of the best texts, while the teacher will supply examples from other sources as well as encourage students to search for them.

For *Graphica* the prints obtainable from the Perry Pictures Co. and others at small cost will add attraction to the notebook and introduce the student to well known pictures.

It is sometimes well to read through Book I before having the class begin the notebook work, although both may be taken up together successfully. The completion of a notebook of this type not only fixes in the student's mind mythical references, figures of speech, and irregularities in scansion and syntax, but impresses upon his mind the value of the *Aeneid* as a literary masterpiece.

The addresses of the picture dealers mentioned in the above and of others are given in the "Hints" for June, 1921. I have seen several notebooks by pupils of Miss Sanford and found them interesting.

Plays in English

In the "Hints" for last February I gave a list of plays in Latin suitable for high-school use. Below I give a list of plays in English, dealing with Classical themes, which may be used with high-school classes.

- Sutherland, Olive, *The Schoolboy's Dream*, *Classical Journal*, VII (1912), 181-83. Based on Caesar. A clever little play for two characters.
- Case, Effie, *The Conspiracy*. A short play (three pages) printed with two short stories in a pamphlet, *Between the Lines of "Cicero" and "Caesar,"* published by Effie Case, 807 Lyon Healy Bldg., Chicago, Ill., 25 cents. The play is based on Cicero's Orations against Catiline.
- Miller, F. J., *Two Dramatizations from Vergil*. University of Chicago Press. \$1.00, postpaid \$1.10. Contains two plays, *Dido*, *The Phoenician Queen*, and *The Fall of Troy*. Both are in verse. They have been great favorites and have been given successfully in a great many schools.
- Code, Grant H., *When the Fates Decree*. Published by the author, 69 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., \$.75. Based on the story of Aeneas and Dido. Written in verse while the author was a high-school student. Successfully given in a number of schools.
- Levinger, Elma E., *The Return of Spring*. Typed copy from the author, 700 Grand Ave., Evansville, Ind. \$3.00. Deals with the Persephone myth. Said to be very beautiful. 25 minutes.

The Eldridge Entertainment House, Franklin, O., and Denver, Col., publishes the following: *Pyramus and Thisbe*, 25 cents. Based on Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*. I have not seen it. *The Vestal Virgins*, 15 cents. A simple taper-drill for girls. Has been given in many schools.

Latin Composition

I was about to write a paragraph suggesting that it was desirable for the teacher to make up English sentences for translation according to the needs of the class when a letter came from a teacher suggesting the same plan, among others. If composition is to be an aid in strengthening weak places in grammar the plan suggested would seem to be the logical one. It is true that good composition books anticipate the weak places in some measure, but classes differ a great deal. The teacher referred to, Miss Myrtle Pullen, of the Britt, Ia., High School, writes as follows:

Instead of having composition one day each week, we read text steadily for five weeks with the exception of using a few sentences in sight writing, as the need arises. Then I devote the entire sixth week to composition, sometimes using sentences from the text, but usually making my own to suit the needs of the class. By doing this I find that the pupil retains what he learns much more readily as there is opportunity for stressing difficult points the second day, whereas in a week's time they are usually forgotten. The last lesson can well be used for summing up the most important points of the four preceding lessons.

Perhaps some one may think composition too dull to spend a week at a time on it, but I find that the interest increases as the lessons progress. The pupils frequently ask for an additional lesson on the following Monday. This they do not get, however, as I would rather leave them wishing for more than kill the desire with one lesson too many.

I should like to know if others have used this plan and if so with what success.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d. St., New York City.

APOLLODORUS. *The Library*, with an English translation by SIR JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. Vols. I, II. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. lix+403, 546. \$4.50.

CRAWFORD, F. MARION. *Ave Roma Immortalis*: Studies from the Chronicles of Rome. New edition, revised. New York: Macmillan. Pp. x+613. \$3.50.

FERRERO, GUGLIELMO. *The Ruin of the Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*: with some consideration of conditions in the Europe of today. Translated by the Hon. Lady Whitehead. New York: Putnam. Pp. vii+210. \$2.50.

HERODOTUS: with an English translation by A. D. GODLEY. Vol. II, Books III and IV (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam. Pp. xviii+415. \$2.25.

REINHARDT, KARL. *Poseidonios*. Munich: Oskar Beck. Pp. 474. M. 75.

ROBINSON, C. E. *The Genius of the Greek Drama: Three Plays*. (Abridged versions of the Agamemnon of Aeschylus, the Antigone of Sophocles, and the Medea of Euripides, adapted for presentation on the stage.) London: H. Milford. Pp. 96. 2s.

SABIN, F. E. *Classical Associations of Places in Italy*. Published by the author, 405 N. Henry St., Madison, Wisconsin. Pp. 526.

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Editorial

BACK TO THE CLASSICS

The signs of the times are not wanting in indications that educational thought is swinging the other way. Among the more notable signs we quote a communication from Paul Van Dyke, Director of the American University Union, Paris, to the Editor of the *New York Times*.

"The educational authorities of France are at present engaged in a very interesting discussion in regard to a proposed reform of secondary education. M. Léon Berard, Minister of Public Instruction, has proposed to the Committee on Instruction of the *Chambre de Députés* quite marked changes in the programs of the secondary schools of France. It is too early to enter into detail in regard to these proposed changes. Suffice it to say for the present that they contemplate what may be fairly called a practical reversal of the fundamental principle of the reform of 1902, and a return to some of the earlier fundamental principles of French secondary education, which were partly abandoned at that epoch. The reform of 1902 was intended to be a reform in the direction of a more practical education. Abandoning, to a considerable extent, the previous idea that all scholars ought to receive up to a certain age the same education, an education which should be the best fitted to train the general powers and quality of their mind, the reform of 1902 proposed an early differentiation and specialization of studies which should begin in the early years to fit students for the special careers they proposed to follow.

"Advocates of the new reform, like M. Bérard, Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Appell, support, partly by the experi-

ence of the last twenty years, their opinion that the reform of 1902 followed the wrong road. M. Bérard believes that the true mission of secondary education consists in forming 'without immediate attention to their special careers in the future, young people of trained mind, capable of adapting themselves to the varied necessities of the social organism, no matter what direction the final specialization of their education may take.' So far as can be judged without a study of the details of his plan—not yet made public—he wishes to remove from the problem of forming the best program for secondary education all preoccupation with the immediate utility as money getters of the subjects of study under consideration. He proposes that all students should follow the same program of studies up to the age of 16, and should then be allowed to choose between the continuation of the Greco-Latin humanities and the sciences.

"The position of M. Appell, Recteur of the University of Paris, appears in an interview in the Temps. He thinks that all students in the Lycées should be required to study Latin and science, history and geography, but that they should be given their choice between Greek and a modern language. Later the course should divide into two sections, one studying Latin, Greek, sciences and a modern language, the other Latin, sciences, two modern languages. He considers a reform necessary because 'our secondary instruction cannot be a school of disorder, of the nearly known, of the habit of doing the least possible.' He would provide other schools separate from the Lycées, not requiring Latin, 'where a student could obtain a certificate which opened to him the higher instruction of the university faculties of science, for we have need of chemists, electricians, &c.' But 'no one should be allowed to teach in public institutions of learning, whether secondary or superior, who has not pursued classic studies.'

"This attitude demanding a return to obligatory Latin has earned for M. Appell, from those who oppose the present reform and desire to maintain the programs of 1902, the charge—not of being reactionary—that is reserved for those who, like the Minister of Education, are in favor both of Latin and Greek—but of compromising with reaction. The reform of the reform, whether

in the guise of restoring one or both ancient languages is labeled by some of its opponents as undemocratic, and a hostile manifesto even hints that if the reform is established by the educational authorities the 'apostles of revolution will take by force this new Bastille,' by which they apparently mean that they will try to carry the question of what and how the schools shall teach into the elections.

"In connection with the discussion of this reform an interesting incident has recently arisen. The Association of Professors of Modern Languages asked the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons to join them in demanding the maintenance of the reform of 1902 by expressing the wish that in the coming reform the teaching of modern languages in the earlier school years should not suffer any diminution by a return to the teaching of the classics. The Chamber of Commerce of Lyons has just replied to this request of the Professors of Modern Languages by a report in which they explain their reasons for refusing to join in their demand. They say: 'Public opinion in France is now well established that the results of the programs of secondary instruction in vogue for twenty years are regrettable. The abandoning of Latin and Greek, the cutting up into fragments of the courses, the absence of a principal professeur who before 1902 aided in the formation of the character and the personality of young people, have brought about the result that pupils leave school knowing less French and without having learned more of the modern languages.' . . . 'In learning Latin and Greek we learn French.' 'It is an absolute error to believe that the classic humanities should be reserved for a small number of young people who are to become lawyers or scholars or experts in ancient documents. Your appeal to the opinion of the merchants and manufacturers of the Chamber of Commerce does not fit in with their experience. We recognize from the first letter written by a new employe whether he has studied Latin or not. A simple letter of commerce implies a logical order, a sort of introduction followed by the main subject, and then something vaguely equivalent to a peroration; that is to say, a miniature of what a Latin speech is. This is even more the case when the matter in hand is a report or a more extended

study of conditions.' . . . 'In our schools of commerce the leading scholars are precisely those who have studied Latin.'

"The Chamber of Commerce summed up its opinion in a paragraph in which it concludes: 'That the study of Latin and Greek is the only way really to learn the French language; that it is also the best means of giving to the mind those ideas of clarity, logic and a good method of argumentation which are useful for preparing any sort of written matter; that the study of the classic humanities constitutes the best gymnastic for the mind and is therefore useful to all students who enter secondary education; that is to say, it is just as good for young people who expect to enter commerce and industry as it is for those who look forward to what are called the liberal professions, and that, finally, the study of classic humanities is equally useful as a preparation for the study of modern languages.'"

NATURE IN THEOCRITUS

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The attitude toward nature, whether in a single writer or in an epoch, is always a touchstone of literary criticism, whereby much that is of fundamental significance in thought and work can be tested. The typical Romanticists are as far asunder from the outlook on life of such a poet as Homer as are "the songs of modern speech" from "the surge and thunder of the *Odyssey*," and at either pole of this world-wide separation will be found a characteristically different emphasis on the relative positions and importance of man and nature. To Homer, the world of external nature, so far as he at all differentiates it from the domain of human life and interests as a whole, serves merely as the background before which his protagonists, men and gods, play their great rôles. So immediate and vital is his contact with nature that he is all but unconscious of the line of demarcation between the realm of human destiny and its setting, the animate and inanimate universe, and he treats the one as he does the other, with a complete impersonality and detachment that is equaled by lofty beauty and solemn grandeur. Contrasted with this attitude of almost unconscious acceptance of the external world as a thing of beauty and a condition of existence, Romanticism strives to still the yearnings of the soul by a return to nature, replacing the unthinking contact, due to complete familiarity, of a primitive state of society by the more sophisticated and highly conscious appreciation and communion, the state of contemplative reverie, of identification of self with the environment, which Professor Babbitt caustically dubs "messing one's self up with nature."

Wherever the line of distinction is to be drawn between the two great tendencies in literature, the classic and the Romantic, it must not be drawn too rigidly and heavily, especially in the case of such poets as Theocritus, who occupy positions on the border of both traditions, but it is that very borderland situation which lends his work a significance beyond that of his individual genius.

He is the last of the illustrious line of classical Greek authors, at the same time that he is the forerunner of Romanticism, and in no phase of his work is this dual character more fully revealed than in his treatment of nature.

With the advance in civilization since the primitive heroic society of the days of Homer, men had lost their immediacy of contact with nature, and though they still knew it at first hand and loved it and depended on it more than even our most remote rural population today, yet they subordinated it in their interests to the great drama of human aspirations and achievements in every realm of thought and active life which filled the stage of Greek life in its glorious period. Then came the overwhelming of the free Greek states by Macedon and their incorporation into a huge empire, of which they were but the western and the smaller portion. The individual man was no longer arbiter of his own destiny and that of his city, but was a mere cog, governing or governed, in an impersonal, smoothly running bureaucratic machine. From being the peer of all but the gods and the fates themselves, he dwindled into the unimportance of being one of many who had seen of what little avail were their fathers' valiant but unconcerted struggles to maintain their freedom, and of what relative insignificance were human ambitions and strivings in comparison with the compulsion of foreign and external forces. Man was no longer the great compelling figure, the center of the imaginative universe, and the Greek world of the Alexandrian age became frankly materialistic, substituting oriental luxury and sycophancy for its native simplicity and splendid independence. Unsatisfied by the gross material comforts of their age, men of finer mold, like Theocritus, sought and found in the world of nature a higher and hitherto unguessed solace for the thwarted cravings of the soul, and for the first time nature began to be differentiated from the realm of purely human actions and to become an interest in and for itself.

This is the underlying development upon which the attitude of Theocritus is based, but there is no tinge of bitterness or disillusion in his pastorals. His mood is that of a cloudless summer noon, serene, unmarred, languorous, but clear-visioned in the contempla-

tion of the beauty about him.¹ Born as he was in Syracuse, he knew from boyhood the luxuriant beauty of the climate and country of Sicily, and his love for nature is as far removed from the nostalgic and consequently rather artificial and sentimentalized appreciation of natural beauties of the native Alexandrian, "long in populous city pent," as it was from the simple acceptance and worship of nature divinities of an older day. He knows every characteristic detail of Sicilian scenery from long acquaintance with it and a love that finds in it a beauty to be sought for its own sake. Nobody before Theocritus, except Euripides in *The Bacchae*, has so highly developed and so exquisitely keen a sense for scenery as a whole, as well as for the component elements, and the final pictures he presents are unsurpassed in pastoral poetry. Long ranges of hills, barren and shadeless where the hot sun beats upon their summits, but clothed with verdure on their gentler lower slopes; occasional clumps of trees, oaks, or slender elms, or silver-leaved poplars, dotting their sides, or a single pine or olive, more beautiful in its isolation; flowers in profusion carpeting the sword—roses, anemones, narcissus, which for their beauty have since been cultivated as garden blossoms; clear springs bubbling from under the rocks, with pebbles that shine from the depths like silver and crystal; and in the distance the intense blue of the summer Mediterranean, stretching to the horizon—these not only frame his poems, as they do the pastoral existence of his shepherds and goatherds and reapers, but also furnish the source of inspiration on which the very existence of both depends.

Like their creator, his characters realize fully the aesthetic influences of their surroundings and draw on them constantly for inspiration when they engage in contests of song. Comatas and Lacon, rude though they are and realistically presented as goatherd and shepherd, yet select with the utmost care the spot possessing the greatest natural beauties and advantages before commencing their none too friendly contest:

"More sweetly will you sing, seated beneath this wild olive and this shady grove. Chill water trickles yonder; while here springs the grass, here is

¹Cf. Croiset, V, 193.

spread a leafy couch, and here the locusts chatter."¹ "But I will not go yonder. Here are oak trees, here is galingale, here sweetly hum the bees about the hives. And there are two springs of cool water, while birds sing in the tree, and the shadow is in no way to be compared with that on your side, while from on high the pine tree showers her cones."²

Briefer and more general, but quite as idyllic is the description of the meeting of Daphnis, the idealized pastoral figure, and Damoetas:

Damoetas and Daphnis, the neatherd, once on a time, Aratus, drove their flock together into the same spot. Ruddy was the down on the cheek of one of them, and half-grown was the beard of the other. And on a well-curb they seated themselves in the hot noontide, and thus they sang.³

The favorite hour of shepherds and Theocritus alike is midday, when one rests in the shade, and when the laborer who continues at his task, or the traveler who still pursues his journey, may well expect to call forth the question, asked by Lycidas:

Simichidas, whither indeed are you dragging your feet through the noontide, when even the lizard is asleep on the wall, and the crested larks wing their flight no more afield?⁴

And only those who have never looked forward, through a hot morning's work in the fields to the brief hour of nooning, can fail to appreciate the wealth of lyric beauty, which the poet has realized and used for his artistic purposes with consummate skill, in that blessed time of rest and respite, when the world seems drowsy in the heat, and when through half-shut lids, with brain dormant and pulses all alive, one feels one's self in tune with the beating of the heart of things.

There are obvious limitations to such a treatment of nature, centered as it is in the purely pastoral poems about the more sensuous elements of the scene, which combine comfort with beauty. "If you will but come," Lacon calls to Comatas, "you shall tread sheep's fleeces and wool softer than sleep,"⁵ only to have Comatas retort by advertising the superior charms of his own hillock:

But, if you will only come hither, you shall tread feathery fern and

¹ Idyl V, 31-34.

² *Ibid.*, 45-49.

³ *Ibid.* VI, 1-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 21-23. Translation partly borrowed from Andrew Lang.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, 50-51.

blossoming thyme; and beneath you shall be spread the skins of she-goats, four times as soft as those of your lambs.¹

We cannot escape the feeling that these shepherds of the Golden Age require the adaptation of the surroundings to their creature comfort before they can give themselves to the denotement of the beauty about them.

Sweet is the voice of the heifer, sweet, her breath. And sweet it is to sleep beneath the open sky in summer by the stream of running water.²

Here is the same note of drowsiness, of drinking in the beneficence of nature through every pore in the body, and again it is heard:

I have a couch spread by the side of the cool water, and on it are laid the fair skins of white calves, which the south-west wind dashed down to me, as they were grazing on arbutus, from the brow of the cliff.³

Less purely sensuous and more reflective is the delightful passage,

But here, beneath this rock, shall I sing, while we watch our flocks together, holding thee in my arms, and gazing on the Sicilian sea.⁴

This mood of quiescence is akin to that of Tolstoi, when he said, "For a week I have lived in the open; I have not soiled my brain with thought, nor my paper with ink."

For such a point of view, nature has beauty only in her smiling moods. Storm and tempest would bring only discomfort or dread, and none of that awed delight in the sheer boundless power of wind and wave so characteristic of such Romanticists as Byron. Unlike Homer, the sea as Theocritus treats it is not the open ocean as a sailor knows it, the wine-dark deep, but the sea as one observes it from the shore. Only twice does he describe it from the point of view of those who go down to the sea in ships, in the account of the storm in the "Hymn to the Dioscuri," which is followed by this striking description of the ensuing calm:

And straightway the winds ceased, and there was a glistening calm on the face of the deep. The clouds dispersed in all directions, and the constellations of the Bears shone forth, and in their midst, the Ass's Manger, betokening that all was fair for sailing,⁵

¹ Idyl V, 55-57.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 76-78.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 9-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 55-56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXII, 19-22.

and again he uses a purely nautical figure in the story of Hylas, who fell headlong into the black water, as when a flaming star shoots straight into the sea, and a sailor shouts to his companions, "Hoist the sails swiftly, lads; the wind is fair for sailing."¹

Only in one other place does he use a figure so full of the grandeur of the ocean, in the account of the Argo, as she

sped and ran into deep Phasis, as an eagle over the mighty gulf of the sea² for in general his sea is that of a landsman. It means to him the "beautiful waves that softly splash,"³ the "violet water in which to wash a soiled potsherd;"⁴ it is the "sea, confined within a strait,"⁵ which floats up near the hut of the two old fishermen and keeps them awake at night with the sound of its surf. He hears it with their ears, he sees it from the rocks "where Olpis the fisherman watches for the schools of tunny,"⁶ and we feel that the appeal of Polyphemus to Galatea, to leave her home in the waters, may in some degree express Theocritus' own preference for the quieter charms of the land:

Let the grey sea roll against the strand. More pleasantly in this cave shalt thou pass the night; laurels are there on that side, and there the slender cypresses; dark ivy there is, and the vine with its sweet clusters of grapes, and a spring of chill water, which heavy-wooded Aetna sends to me, an ambrosial draught from its white snows. Who would choose to have the sea and its billows rather than these delights?⁷

Even as his rustics find the source of their joys in their flocks and in the world about them, so too they attribute grief to overcast nature in their moods of trouble and bereavement, and the elegy for Daphnis, beautiful and masterfully wrought as it is, is one long pathetic fallacy.

For him the jackals, him the wolves did lament; for him did even the lion of the thicket roar, when he was dead. . . . Many the kine about his feet, many the bulls, and many the heifers and the young steers which bellowed their lament.⁸

¹ Idyl XIII, 48-52.

² *Ibid.*, XIII, 23-24.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, 10-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI, 60-62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXI, 17-18.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 42-48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 71-75.

Nature is invoked to change the order of things, now that Daphnis is dead:

Now let brambles bring forth, now let thorns bear, violets, and the fair narcissus bloom on the boughs of the juniper. Let all things become their opposites, let the pine tree bring forth pears, since Daphnis is dead, and let the stag bring the hounds to bay, and let brown owls from the mountains sing against nightingales.¹

Conversely, nature is supposed to rejoice at the approach of the loved one:

"There does the ewe, there do the goats bear twins; there the bees fill full the hives, and oaks are loftier, where fair Milon sets his foot. But alas, if he depart, lean is the shepherd then, and lean the pastures." "Everywhere is spring, everywhere fresh pastures, the cow's udders are swollen with milk and the young are nourished, wheresoever lovely Nais wanders."²

There is nothing novel to us in the pathetic fallacy, all too familiar with it as we are in its increasingly pathetic and fallacious use by later Romanticism, but the invocation of opposites seems strained and unnatural, and we can only be glad that its use has not survived.

Flaws and limitations are inevitable in any medium of expression, and the pastoral is obviously no exception to this rule, nor is it an exception to the compensating one, that each form has its peculiar excellences. What Theocritus lacks in his treatment of nature of diffuseness and breadth of scope, he gains in intensity and concentration. The world as he depicts it is not that of Homer, for instance, with wide stretches of land and boundless vistas of sea and sky, but it has gained a new element, that of landscape in the modern sense. No poet before him—and few after—had such a feeling for trees, for the added loveliness to an already charming scene of a bit of woodland, a grove, or even a single tree, and nothing in his work is more memorable than his use of trees as setting the key of his landscapes. "Sweet is the rustling, and sweetly yonder pine, shepherd, whispers by the spring:"³ change the tree, and you change the whole character of the scene: "and above the fountain elms and poplars formed a shadowy glade, with their pale green leaves arching overhead as a

¹ Idyl V, 133-36.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 45-48.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 1-2.

vault."¹ Or, pressing farther into "the manifold deeps of the forest"² with the Twin Brethren, one comes upon perhaps the most beautiful scene of all:

They found a never-ceasing fountain beneath the sheer cliff, filled with pure water, and the pebbles below gleamed like silver or crystal from the depths. Close at hand grew lofty firs, and white plane trees, and high-topped cypresses, and fragrant flowers, dear scene of toil for shaggy bees, such as bloom throughout the meadows when spring wanes.³

And only a poet with full appreciation of the beauty and suggestiveness of a single tree and with truly classical restraint could have written the lines about Helen in the "Epithalamium": Even as the crops spring up, the great glory of the ploughed land, or as is a cypress in a garden, . . . so is rose-hued Helen the glory of Lacedaemon."⁴

In Theocritus, too, do quiet countryside and pasture land come to their own. Unforgettable is the passage which describes the shepherds, who "along the Crannonian plain pastured beneath the sky innumerable flocks of the choicest sheep for the hospitable Creondae."⁵ It is in the contemplation of this kind of rich and peaceful country that he seems to find the deepest and most abiding delight and repose of spirit. "Depart to Ida, depart to Anchises," is the jeering command of Daphnis to Aphrodite; "there you will find oak trees, but here grows the galingale, and the bees boom pleasantly about the hives,"⁶ and to just such scenes his Muse turns in her most felicitous moments, where the unnumbered thousands of flocks fatten on the pasturage and bleat along the plain, and the kine as they return in herds to their stalls hasten the traveller on his twilight way. And may the fallow ground be broken for seed-time, while the cicada, watching the shepherds toiling in the sun, from aloft on the branches sounds his shrill note. May spiders spin their delicate webs over the arms of war, and may not so much as the name of the battle shout linger!⁷

His wide acquaintance with all the life of nature does much to make his work vivid and to lend it its springlike freshness. It is

¹ Idyl VII, 7-9.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 49.

³ *Ibid.*, XXII, 37-43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 29-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 38-39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 106-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XVI, 90-97.

as full of names as a birdbook or botany, but not only would it serve as a guide to the fauna and flora of Cos and Sicily, but also it places him in the forefront of the poets who have written of flowers. Each mountain dell has its blossoms, the "dark violet and the lettered hyacinth;"¹ the open fields have their "white lilies and soft poppies with scarlet petals,"² while cyclamen bloom on the river banks, and "round a spring, in a hollow, rushes grew thick, and dark swallow-wort, and pale maiden-hair, and blooming parsley, and deer-grass, spreading through the marshy land."³ So far removed is Theocritus' presentation of this bewildering array of flowers and plants from mere botanical erudition and the catalogue style, that reading his poems is like wandering afoot through the Elysian Fields and plucking their eternal blossoms, roses, anemones, and asphodel. No less delightful are the sights and sounds of bird and insect life; the lizard asleep on his wall in the noonday sun, the omnipresent cicada sounding his shrill note on the topmost twig, the "blunt-faced bees flying up from the meadow with honey from tender flowers,"⁴ or "with loud hum entering the cave, dipping through the ivy and the fern,"⁵ the "ring-dove brooding on her nest in the juniper thicket,"⁶ the "swallow flying swiftly back to gather fresh food, another morsel for her young beneath the eaves," the song of "larks and linnets, the moan of the turtle dove,"⁷—these lend his work its verisimilitude as well as its highly imaginative and sympathetic touch of wild life.

Perhaps nothing tests more thoroughly the extent to which a writer can enter into the ever changing moods of nature than his sensitiveness to the nuances of the passing seasons. Unluckily for the race of poets, though perhaps not so unfortunately for their readers, the year has had but four seasons since time began and all the things worth saying about them have been said, and supremely well said, long ago. And Theocritus is one of those who has spoken them most beautifully, nor was it any easier to be truly original, in the fine sense of the word, in the third century

¹ Idyl X, 28.

² *Ibid.*, XI, 56-57.

³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 39-42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 80-81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 24-25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 96-97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 57-58.

B.C., just because it was more possible for one to be unique. The full force of his imaginative power of creation, the exquisiteness of his feeling for nature, are revealed in his use of the seasons. His preference for the hot summer noon has been commented on, but quite as delightful and far more delicate is his love for "quick-coming spring," as much "sweeter than winter, as the apple is sweeter than the wild plum, as the ewe is deeper of fleece than the lamb she bore, . . . nay, by as much as the nightingale sings sweetest of all birds."¹ So, too, the maidens sing of Helen at her bridal, "As the rising dawn shows a countenance fairer than thine, O queenly Night, or as the spring, when winter slackens his hold, even so did golden Helen shine forth among us."² Again it is spring that makes his comparison forceful, when he rises to lyric heights, as he sings his love for poetry and the muses: "Cicada to cicada is dear, and ant to ant, and hawks to hawks, but to me the Muse and song. Of song may my whole dwelling be full, for not more sweet is sleep, nor sudden spring, nor blossoms to the bees, so dear to me are the Muses."³ But nothing in his work can surpass the superb Seventh Idyl, which has maintained its proud title of the "Queen of All Eclogues," and the whole mellow beauty of it is that of late summer and the early harvests. The poem is instinct with the reminiscent spirit, the memory of that stroll from the city, in the radiant harvest weather, with his good friends, and the delight of the walk, the beauty of the day, is summed up in the words, "Everything was redolent of the rich summertime, everything smelt of the time of the ripening of fruit."⁴ It might well be the voice of the poet who spent long years in the crowds and artificial, barbaric splendor of Alexandria, waiting for the emperor's patronage, speaking in the last lines of the idyl, "Ah that once again I might plant the great winnowing fan on the corn heap of Demeter, while she stands smiling by, holding in both hands sheaves of corn and poppies,"⁵ and this, in its purity, its artistic restraint, is the voice of the last full heir of the great Greek past and that of perhaps the first of the Romanticists.

¹ Idyl XII, 3.

² *Ibid.*, XVIII, 26-28.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 31-35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 155-157.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1920-21

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In the archaeological world, the year 1920 witnessed further progress towards a return to pre-war conditions. Before the end of the year, all the foreign schools in Athens, except the Austrian, were once more open, although the German School had no students and all were hampered by the prevailing high prices and the fluctuations of foreign exchange. The British School was the only one that was able to undertake any extensive work of excavation. This was at Mycenae, where a campaign of several weeks, under the direction of Mr. Wace, led to several interesting discoveries.¹ The regions explored were especially the space between the Lion Gate and the Circle of Graves and the ruins of the palace on the top of the hill.

Between the Lion Gate and the Grave Circle, a large building which Schliemann partially excavated was completely cleared. This structure is peculiar in being built up to the city wall, and it presents a number of unusual features in long corridors, traces of two, and possibly three, stories, and a staircase lighted by a window. Schliemann records that he found here remains of grain, and his report is confirmed by the new examination, which produced carbonized remains of several grains, wheat, barley, and millet or vetches. These were stored, not in *pithoi*, as at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete, but in tall, tublike receptacles of unbaked clay, like the *kotselles* still used by the peasants of Argolis for storing their produce. The theory, therefore, that this was a royal granary seems well founded. Even more interesting was the discovery, underneath the floor of the central room of the building, of a shaft grave similar in character to those discovered by Schliemann and Stamatakis inside the Grave Circle. The contents had been removed in antiquity, presumably in Mycen-

¹ See the "Literary Supplement" to the *London Times* for June 24 and August 19, 1920. The excavations were continued in the spring of 1921, but I have seen no statement of the results.

aeon times, but some relics remained, including nineteen gold discs with rosette patterns, some half dozen beads of glass paste, two lead vessels, much crushed, and two pieces of worked ram's horn from a helmet. All this suggests a burial contemporary with those in the Circle, and its relation to the other graves is an interesting problem. It may, of course, have been found accidentally, when the foundations of the granary were being laid, and simply plundered. On the other hand, as Mr. Wace points out, its location suggests that round about the Royal Graves, as they were originally constructed, were others, presumably not royal in character. Like many other scholars, he believes that the circular wall of slabs was built to mark the site of the Royal Graves when the great wall of defense was constructed about the citadel, an event which he would date soon after 1400 B. C. At the same time, he argues, the contents of the other, non-royal graves were removed and placed inside the Circle. For this theory, several arguments can be advanced. Inside the circle, but outside the Shaft Graves, Schliemann and Stamatakis found the remains of eight skeletons, together with vases and ornaments similar to those in the graves; south of the Circle, Schliemann found several vases and some jewelry in what he believed to be a grave, though later archaeologists have generally denied that it was one; in this region, Tsountas found some disused graves; and under the floor of a house, south of the Circle, the English excavators discovered a grave of earlier date than the Shaft Graves.

This South House, as Mr. Wace calls it, presents several interesting features. Its stone walls are preserved to a height of five feet, and still show the positions of wooden ties set in the stone base to support an upper wall of crude brick; traces of a stairway point to the existence of an upper storey; and evidence for a flat roof appeared in many pieces of cement with a thick backing of clay, still showing the impression of leaves from the branches on which the clay was laid.

The further examination of the ruins on the summit of the hill also yielded interesting results. The palace was found to have been built in terraces, with at least two floor-levels, and so to be more closely analogous to the Cretan palaces than has been believed.

Examination of the levels below the pavement of the courtyard brought to light many fragments of what Mr. Wace calls Middle Helladic pottery, dating between 2000 and 1600 B. C.,¹ showing that the site was occupied long before the building of the present palace, which, to judge from the pottery found in it, dates from about 1400-1200 B. C.

Finally, the Treasury of Atreus was subjected to a very careful investigation, in the hope of throwing some light on its date. One stone of the threshold was lifted, and under it was found a deposit of gold leaf, a few beads of faience, cornelian, or paste, some bronze nails, fragments of ivory, and part of a painted vase of typical late Mycenaean style. Similar fragments came to light in the foundations of the southern entrance wall of the tomb, pointing to 1400-1200 B. C. as the date of the building.

The conclusions which Mr. Wace draws from the evidence of the new excavations are as follows. The first settlement on the hill may be dated in the Early Helladic period. In the Middle Helladic period, Mycenae was already a flourishing city, and the earliest interments in the Shaft Graves are those of the last rulers of this time. In the first phase of the Late Helladic period (about 1600-1400 B. C.), Mycenae was evidently a very rich and flourishing state, as is shown by the contents of the later Shaft Graves. It was still unfortified, and in this regard presents interesting analogies with Knossos and the other Cretan cities. In the later phase of the Late Helladic period, the Mycenaean age *par excellence* (about 1400-1200), the great walls were built, together with the Grave Circle and the existing palace, and the whole city appears to have been replanned and rebuilt. The Treasury of Atreus and the other beehive tombs are graves of the dynasts of this time, who may well be the Atridae of the Homeric tradition.

¹ Mr. Wace and Dr. Blegen have worked out a system of classification for the pottery of the mainland during the bronze age. They distinguish three main periods, Early Helladic (about 2500-2000), Middle Helladic (about 2000-1600), and Late Helladic (about 1600-1100), each with subdivisions. A brief account of the system is published in the *Annual of the British School in Athens*, XXII, 175 ff., and it is worked out in more detail in Dr. Blegen's book, *Korakou: a Prehistoric Site near Corinth*, soon to be published by the American School at Athens.

These conclusions, naturally, have not been accepted in all quarters. Several of them are attacked by Sir Arthur Evans.¹ He objects especially to the dating of the palace later than the Shaft Graves and to the late date assigned to the beehive tombs. For him, all are roughly contemporary, assignable to the Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I periods, about 1700–1500 B. C., and the forms of the palace architecture and the contents of the Shaft Graves point definitely to Crete, suggesting an invasion from Crete and a race of Minoan dynasts at Mycenae. Here, then, we have the beginnings of a controversy, of which we shall doubtless hear more as the English excavations are continued.

The American School undertook no excavation in 1920, but in the spring of 1921, a fund contributed by friends of the School made possible the partial clearing of a prehistoric settlement at Zygyouries. This is a low mound near the village of Hagios Vasilios, about halfway between Corinth and Mycenae, where Dr. Blegen had noticed vase fragments and other indications of occupation during the bronze age. Remains of all three Helladic periods were brought to light. Especially important are numerous foundation walls of houses of the Early Helladic age. These exhibit considerable variety in plan, but all seem to include a square chamber, quite different in scheme from the long, rectangular *megaron* of Mycenaean days. Among the small objects from this level are a small terracotta figurine representing a woman, a button-seal of terracotta, and a fine bronze dagger, which are the first objects of their kind to be found on the mainland. From the Late Helladic period, the most noteworthy discovery was a potter's workshop. Two rooms, connected by a doorway, were cleared, and were found to be filled with vases, many of them standing in high stacks. All were of Late Helladic style and quite unused. Among them were five large, deep craters, three very large and nine smaller stirrup vases, more than 275 unpainted deep bowls for cooking, about 75 diminutive saucers, 20 small jars, some 40 painted cylixes, as well as ladles, cups, jugs, and coarse pots in smaller quantities. Although the

¹In a letter to the *Times*, published in the "Literary Supplement" for July 15, 1921.

building had been destroyed by fire, many of the vases were unbroken. It is expected that the work at Zygouries will be continued next spring, if funds can be raised to defray the expense.

In the not too distant future, it is hoped that the School will have a regular income for purposes of excavation. The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of \$100,000 for the endowment of the School, on condition that before July 1, 1925, an additional sum of \$150,000 be raised. The Trustees and the Managing Committee feel sure that they can meet this condition, but they will need the active support of all who are interested in the School and its work.

Among the undertakings of the Greeks, one of the most interesting is the exploration of the site called Marmara on Mount Oeta. Here were found remains of a great altar, with quantities of ashes and broken offerings damaged by fire, showing that the altar had been in use from the sixth century to Roman times. Inscriptions on many of the fragments of vases show that they were dedicated to Heracles, and two small statuettes of the hero and a good-sized club in bronze were found. All this makes it clear that the altar was dedicated to the worship of Heracles and suggests that it marked the spot where he was believed to have built a pyre and met his death to escape the tortures of the robe of Nessus. Nearby was found the lower part of a Doric temple, which may be the temple of Athena on Mount Oeta mentioned by Pausanias (X. 22. 1).

At Epidaurus, the Greeks have continued at intervals the work on the sanctuary of Asclepius begun in 1881. A brief account of recent discoveries is given by Mr. Cavvadias in the first number of a new Athenian review, *L'Acropole*. This covers the years 1916 and 1918, when a considerable area near the Propylaea was explored. Among the buildings uncovered, the most important is a basilica of Roman date, associated with a colonnaded market-place, and a smaller structure, which Mr. Cavvadias interprets as a Roman villa. In both these buildings were very beautiful and well-preserved mosaic floors. Among the inscriptions found are several which relate to the Achaean League. One, which Mr. Cavvadias dates 223 B. C., records amendments

to the constitution of the League incident to the admission of the Macedonians and their allies; another gives the text of a treaty made with the Epidaurians when Epidaurus was admitted (242 B. C.); and a third contains a list of the *nomographoi* of the League.

From Pagasae in Thessaly, the discovery of a Mycenaean palace in a good state of preservation is reported, but I have seen no more than the mere statement of fact.

Among interesting new undertakings is the proposal of the town of Chios to restore, at the expense of the community, the great Altar of the Chians at Delphi, a monument of the fifth century, B. C. This proposal, to quote a Greek journalist, proves that "modern Chios is a pious heir of ancient Chios. But recently freed from the yoke of slavery, she takes thought for the fame of her glorious ancestors."

In Rome, the most striking discovery that I have noted is that of a large underground tomb near the Viale Manzoni, between the Via di Porta Maggiore and the Via di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. This was found by chance, when workmen engaged in laying foundations for a garage came upon the vault of an underground room, elaborately decorated with paintings. Careful excavations carried out by government officials showed that the room measured some 4.43 by 4.93 meters and was connected by stairways with several smaller built chambers and with galleries hewn out of the rock. Numerous arched niches prove that the whole was used as a tomb, and an inscription in the mosaic floor of the larger chamber shows that it was built by a certain Aurelius Felicissimus for his brothers and fellow freedmen. Although the tomb was plundered, apparently in ancient times, the frescoes of the large room are remarkably well preserved. The walls were decorated with twelve standing male figures from 1.04 to 1.13 meters tall, one of which was afterwards destroyed but the cutting through of a doorway. All are dressed in white tunics with red borders, over which are white cloaks draped in various ways. Some hold scrolls in their hands, others have one arm extended, as if they were addressing an audience. The faces suggest portraits. Above these figures are several extended com-

positions in friezes or lunettes. In one of the friezes, Ulysses converses with Penelope, who stands by her loom, in the presence of several men, who are perhaps to be interpreted as some of the suitors; in another is represented a city, near the gate of which a man on a prancing horse, followed by a crowd of people, is met by a procession of citizens. In one of the lunettes, the walls of a city fill the background and in the foreground are rustic villas and groups of feeding animals; in another, there are similar groups of animals and above them a bearded man reading from an open roll. Even the ceiling is decorated with figures in medallions or in rectangular frames. Among these are four examples of a youthful figure carrying a lamb on his shoulders, recalling the representations of the "Good Shepherd" which are common in the Catacombs. All these paintings may reasonably be assigned to the second half of the second century after Christ, the date suggested by the name of the builder, and the galleries and the smaller chambers, one of which contains some paintings, are probably not later than the first half of the third century. Dr. Bendinelli, who first published the results of the excavation,¹ is inclined to argue that the hypogaeum was built for the members of a "Christian, but heretic" community, basing his belief on the figures of the "Good Shepherd" and the possibility that the twelve male figures represent the Twelve Apostles. But the early date and the pagan character of the rest of the decoration make such a theory difficult, and it is most probable that the tomb is purely pagan. The paintings, in any case, are among the most important frescoes discovered in Rome.

At Tivoli, excavations near the Cathedral brought to light the ruins of a rectangular hall, built by a certain Varenus Diphilus, a freedman. It had an apse at one end, in which was found the base for a statue, inscribed *pro salute et reditu Caesaris Augusti*. In front of this were fragments of a seated statue, including the head, but since the features are not very similar to those of Augustus, it seems likely that here, as in so many other cases,

¹ His official report, with many illustrations, appears in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1920, 123-141, and a brief account, with three excellent figures, in *Art and Archaeology* for April, 1921 (Vol. XI, 169-172).

the original head was replaced by the head of a later emperor. In the famous villa of Hadrian, the ruins near the Stadium, to the east of the space called the Poikile, have been shown by investigation to belong to a bath, as had been conjectured. (They are called a "Temple of Venus and Diana" on old plans). Three rooms with hypocausts have been uncovered, including a large, circular apartment with a domed roof, as well as parts of a *frigidarium*.

From Ostia, the latest reports record work on a group of ruins between the Via Decumana and the storehouses, on a block of buildings west of the temple of Vulcan, and in the quarter north of the Porta Romana. In the first of these regions were found the walls of a series of shops opening on the Via Decumana, each with a small room behind it. These give evidence of numerous minor rearrangements, and finally of a gradual remodelling of several of the rooms in the rear into a form which resembles a basilica and was probably used as a church by an early Christian community. In its final form, it included a nave, with three divisions, and two apses. Curiously enough, the inscriptions and the sculptures found in clearing this structure were almost all pagan and seem to come from filling earth dumped in this locality after the building was in ruins, or perhaps from upper stories. The most interesting of the sculptures is a colossal group in Parian marble, of which almost every fragment was recovered. It represents Commodus and Crispina as Mars and Venus. The type of the group is one which is familiar in several late Roman examples, made by combining replicas of the Borghese Ares and the Aphrodite of Melos. The head of the female figure, however, is not the original one, and the male head, which is now beardless, shows clearly that it was formerly bearded. Apparently, therefore, the group originally represented some earlier Imperial pair, probably Marcus Aurelius and Faustina.

To the west of the temple of Vulcan, the principal discoveries were walls of three houses, apparently of the "apartment house" type now so familiar at this site, and the remains of a temple, resting on the ruins of two earlier temples. In its latest form, this consisted of a hall, with a long, low platform on the side opposite

the entrance, and several pedestals for statues around it. The plan is similar to that of the sanctuary of the Imperial family in the barracks of the *vigiles*, and many fragments of official records of Augustales were found in the neighborhood, so that the temple is believed to have been an Augusteum.

The excavations near the Porta Romana revealed the fact that various structures were built close up to the wall, both inside and outside, a proof that this was not a real wall of defense, at least in the later centuries of the city's history. Of the small objects found here, the most interesting is an altar, with an inscription of which the greater part could be made out, in spite of the fact that an attempt had been made to chisel out the letters. It runs: *Aram Nymphis Sanctis Amnion Aug(ustorum) n(ostro-rum) ser(vus) liberatus numine earum gravi infirmitate,¹ fecit dicavitque . . . idus J[an?] Anullino iterum et Frontone co(n)s(ulibus)*. The date, which is the year 199 A. D., shows that the Augusti mentioned as the masters of Amnion are Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The nature of the *gravis infirmitas* is suggested by a relief crudely carved near the bottom of the altar, representing a dog running to right, and behind it a man who has been thrown down and raises both arms in supplication. Presumably it was hydrophobia (or the fear of it) from which the Nymphs, goddesses of springs and healing waters, "freed" Amnion.

At Arezzo, investigations begun in 1916 and continued in 1918, to discover, if possible, remains of the ancient town walls of brick mentioned by Vitruvius (II. 8.9) and Pliny (*N.H.* XXXV. 173) have now been made the subject of a detailed report.² A section of the wall, 10.50 meters long, 4.50 thick, and 1.30 high, was finally found near the Via di Catona, a short distance north of the modern city, on the slope of the hill below the Cathedral. It is built of bricks only slightly baked and bright red in color, measuring in Roman feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 by $\frac{1}{2}$. The many fragments of Etrusco-Campanian vases found in the stratum below the wall and also under single scattered bricks suggests that its existence covers the period when these vases were in vogue, that is, from the

¹ I omit two lines of which only a few letters could be made out.

² *Not. Scav.* 1920, 167-215.

end of the fourth century to the early years of the first century, B. C., and the absence throughout the excavated area of fragments of the characteristic red Arretine pottery, which began to be manufactured about the middle of the first century, B. C., points in the same direction. Very probably the wall was dismantled by Sulla's troops in 81 B. C. It is interesting, too, that in dimensions the bricks agree very closely with those which Vitruvius and Pliny called Lydian, implying that this type was derived from the East. Among the small objects found were numerous architectural pieces, including fragments of stone columns and capitals, bits of painted wall-plaster, pieces of mosaic pavement, and many architectural terracottas. Some of these show traces of burning, and the whole mass apparently came from a number of different buildings. Among the terracottas are several fine heads and other fragments of well-modelled figures, datable on grounds of style to the third and the second centuries, B. C.

Finally, at Cyrene, the excavation of the "temple of Apollo" has been carried further. The present building is of Roman construction, but underneath it parts of the original Greek temple of the fifth century have been found. Nearby, other smaller shrines have been uncovered. One contained a seated statue of Apollo Citharoedus, another was a temple of oriental divinities. In the latter were some good sculptures, including a colored statuette (possibly a figure of Atargatis), dressed in a green tunic and a red cloak, with hair and eyes gilded. In the Agora, the temple of Zeus, identified by a standing statue of the god, has been completely cleared. And the Tabularium, or Record Office, with niches in the walls and inscriptions recording dedications by νομοφύλακες has been found.

THE COÖRDINATION OF LATIN WITH FIRST-YEAR ALGEBRA

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We may believe fully in the cultural and disciplinary values of Latin, and be also in thorough sympathy with the tendency to make Latin of direct help in the use and understanding of English. Because of such a sympathy I have long taught in Latin classes the derivation and meaning of English words, and of late with increasing emphasis.

Experience shows that practically all pupils need instruction in the method of using the dictionary to determine etymology, and that many first-year pupils require definite guidance of an elementary kind. To illustrate this last statement, let me give two extreme cases. A boy was asked to find derivatives from *vir*. He presented English words containing the syllable *man*, such as *man*, *manage*, etc. A girl presented a set of English words all having the same meaning as the Latin word she was handling, without regard to their different etymologies.

I have found that the best results are secured, not by occasionally giving a number of Latin words to all the pupils in the class, but by a daily assignment of one word to one pupil, with the direction that he place on the board before the class period all the English derivatives he can find along with the definition of each. The teacher can correct, add to or subtract from the pupil's list, explaining the connection with the Latin original where this is not clear, and indicating the common words which all must copy into their notebooks, and for which all will be held responsible.

Such etymology work has at least four good results. (1) It makes the Latin teacher a learner with his pupils, and continually surprises him by revealing how little he really knows about the derivation of words. He finds it exhilarating to discover the etymology of such a word as *umpire*, or the difference in origin of the second syllables in *reserve* and *deserve*. (2) It interests the

Latin students and the teachers of other subjects, and makes them see one practical value of Latin. (3) It shows the great debt our language owes to Latin. (4) It enables the Latin teacher to make the first-year work more valuable to those who go no farther. My experience shows that etymology work more than pays for the time it takes, both in direct result and in the interest it creates.

This paper is the record of an attempt to coördinate first-year Latin with first-year algebra. It gives also some conclusions which may be drawn from the attempt. Work has already been begun on the coördination of Latin with first-year subjects other than algebra, such as general science, music, drawing, gymnasium, woodwork, and English.

Coördination may be secured in other ways, but the aim of this paper is to show how, and to what extent, the nomenclature of algebra may be taught in Latin classes, especially in those of the first year. The method is to tabulate in alphabetical order, the technical and semi-technical words of algebra. The words are those found in the index of Wells and Hart's *First Year Algebra*, 1912. To these have been added numerous other words occurring in the preface, introduction, and scattered through the pages of the text-book. It may be said, in passing, that in the case of some subjects, such as music, drawing and cooking, the teachers of those subjects have been good enough to furnish a list, to which additions have been made as it seemed advisable.

After this tabulation of the nomenclature of algebra, the etymology of each word was ascertained or verified. The words were then arranged and counted in two groups; first, those ultimately from Latin, including the hybrids coming from both Latin and Greek; second, those ultimately from other languages. The last step was to determine in what semester of high-school Latin each word might first be taught. Here it was necessary to assume exact uniformity in teaching, where only substantial agreement exists. For first-year Latin the stems found in the special vocabularies of D'Ooge's *Latin for Beginners* served as a basis. In second-year Latin, it was assumed that the *Helvetian* campaign was read the first semester, and books 2, 3 and 4 of the *Gallic War*, during the second semester.

In following this method two things became evident. (1) That words must be, and should be taught from the nearest approach. To illustrate. To teach the derivation of *solution*, we must not wait for *solutio*, we must teach it from *solvere*. To teach the derivation of *solve*, we must not wait for the ultimate *se+luere*; we must use the nearer *solvere*. To teach the derivation of *result* we must not wait for *resultare*, or even *resilire*, we must use the first compound of *salire* that occurs. To teach the derivation of *brace* we may use the Latin *bracchium*, even though the Greek *brachion* gives the ultimate derivation. (2) The second thing to become evident is this. The teaching should not be of too scholarly a character, nor yet too inexact. We may rest content with tracing *power* to *posse*, without giving the intermediate step of Late Latin *potere*. We should not mention the assumed form *similaris*, but show the origin of *similar* in *similis*. We need not say that *monomial*, *trinomial*, and *polynomial* were formed in imitation of *binomial*; but we should show that *binomial* is a mistaken form of *binominal*. We should point out cognates whenever the helpfulness of such a course seems to justify it; but cognates should never be confused with derivatives.

The subjoined list contains 156 words. To obtain this number, two or more English words which come from the same Latin source, have been counted as one. If every word were counted, the grand total would reach 193 instead of 156. In this way, *multiple*, *multiply*, *multiplier*, *multiplicand* and *multiplication*, have all together counted as one. So with *add*, *subtract*, *divide*, and related English words. So with twenty or more pairs, such as *equal* and *equation*, *letter* and *literal*, *miscellaneous* and *mixed*. So with such words as *determinate* and *indeterminate*, where the difference lies only in the negative prefix.

On the other hand, the words in other groups have been counted separately; *angle*, *triangle*, *rectangle*; *monomial*, *binomial*, *trinomial*, *polynomial*; *factor* and *coefficient*; *ordinate* and *coördinate*; *ascending* and *descending*; *similar* and *dissimilar*; *complementary* and *supplementary*; all these because of a difference in the prefix. *Minus* and *minuend*, *complex* and *complicate*, are distinguished because each pair comes from different, though

related, Latin words. *Parallelogram* adds a new root to that in the word *parallel*.

Of these 156 words, or groups of words, 128 are from Latin, and three are from Latin and Greek, a total of 131, or 84%. Seventeen are from Greek through Latin; two directly from Greek, and one each from Scandinavian and Old High German. Two are ultimately from Arabic, and one each from Persian and Celtic. Every one of the 37 words not counted is of classical origin.

Of the 131 words, for the teaching of which the Latin teacher might hold himself responsible, 27 can be associated with the regular teaching in the first semester; 46 in the second semester; 17 in the third; 14 in the fourth; and 13 in the third year, a total of 117. The other fourteen can not be taught at all in the first three years of Latin, provided we do not go beyond the usual vocabularies of those years. The algebra pupil must know the meaning of these 131 words during his first year in high school; in the case of most of the words, during his first semester. The Latin teacher cannot economically throw light on more than 20.6% during the first semester, nor on more than 55.7%, all told, during the whole of the first year.

Some general conclusions may be drawn from this attempt to coördinate Latin and algebra. Whether they apply in the case of subjects other than algebra, remains to be seen. (1) Practically the whole nomenclature of algebra is Latin or Greek in origin, 96.2% of the 156 words, 97% of the 193 words. (2) French is the most useful of the modern languages. Of the 156 words, 96 come through the French. (3) Comparatively few words can be taught economically, in first-year Latin with our present textbooks, at best 56%. Yet it is worth while to teach these. (4) To avoid adverse criticism, it is best to give definite information to the mathematics teachers, as to what assistance can be expected from Latin teachers. (5) The comparatively low percentage of Latin words which can be taught in first-year Latin, does not *necessarily* mean that our first-year books are at fault, and that these should have their vocabulary lists revised. It may well be argued that in the etymology teaching of the first year, emphasis

should be laid on the words in the Latin vocabularies which furnish numerous English derivatives in common use, as well as on a few prefixes and suffixes. What seems most urgently needed is the determination of Latin stems appearing most frequently in common English words, and the insertion of these stems in first-year books.

THE LIST

Words of non-Latin origin.

1. algebra	Low L. — Arabic
2. zero	Fr. — Ital. — Low L. — Arabic
3. check	Fr. — Arabic — Persian
4. bracket	Fr. — Span. — L. — Celtic
5. root	Scandinavian
6. standard	Old High German
7. pi	Greek
8. parenthesis	Greek
9. arithmetic	Fr. — L. — Greek
10. base	same
11. brace	"
12. cube	"
13. geometry — trical	Fr. — L. — Greek
14. graph — ical	same
15. horizontal	"
16. hypotenuse	"
17. mathematics	"
18. method	"
19. parallel	"
20. parallelogram	"
21. period	"
22. problem	"
23. pyramid	"
24. symbol	"
25. topic	"

Words of Latin origin.

Explanation.

A dash, —, means "derived from."

L = Latin

F = French

P.P. = perfect participle

Pr.P. = present participle

Ger. = gerundive

1 b is the first semester of high school; 1 a, the second; 2 b, the third; 2 a, the fourth; 3, the third year.

Derivation is taught from the Latin word in the column headed "When Taught;" when there is no such entry, from the last word in the column headed "Derivation."

The numbers at the extreme right of each line refer to the lessons in D'Ooge, in the case of 1 b and 1 a words, and to the book and chapter of the Gallic War in the case of 2 b and 2 a words.

<i>Word</i>	<i>Derivation</i>	<i>When Taught</i>	
1. abscissa	L p.p. of abscondere	2a scindere	3:5
2. absolute	L p.p. of absolvere	2a solvere	4:23
3. add-end-ition	L addere	1b dare	5
4. alter-nate-nation	L p.p. of alternare—alternus— alter	1b	16
5. altitude	F — L altitudo—altus	1b	8
6. amount	F — L ad montem	1a	44
7. angle	F — L angulus	3 and in	5:13
8. antecedent	L pr.p. of antecedere	1b discedere	30
9. applied	F — L applicare		6:27
10. approximate	L p.p. of approximare	1b proximus	22
11. area	L area		
12. ascending	L ascendere	2b	1:21
13. axis	L axis		
14. balance	F — L bilanx — bi+lanx		
15. binomial	L Late L. binomius — bi+nomen	1a nomen	51
16. cancel	F — L Low L cancellare — cancellus		
17. circle	F — L circulus — circus	1a circum	60
18. circumference	L circumferentia — pr.p. of circumferre	1a ferre	73
19. clear	F — L clarus	1b	8
20. coefficient	L co+pr.p. of efficere	1b facere	26
21. column	L columna; allied to collis	1a collis	44
22. combine	L combinare — com—+bini	1a bini	59
23. comparison	F — L comparatio—comparare — com—+par	1a par	45
24. complement-ary	L complementum — complere	1b plenus	32
25. complex	L p.p. of complecti — com — + plectere	2b complecti	1:20
26. complicate	L p.p. of complicare — com —+plicare		
27. composition	F — L compositio — componere	1b ponere	37
28. common	F — L communis	2a	2:4
29. commutative	L commutare — com —+ mutare	2b	1:23
30. condition-al	F — L conditio — con —+ dic — (show)	2b conditio	1:28
31. consequent	L pr.p. of consequi	1a	60
32. coördinate	L co—+p.p. of ordinare — ordo	1a	40
33. degree	F — L de+gradus	3	1:11

34. denominator	L denominare	1a nominare	79
35. derive	F — L derivare — de + rivus	2	
36. descending	F — L descendere — de + scandere	2b ascendere	1:21
37. difference	F — L differentia — pr.p. of differre	1a ferre	73
38. digit	L digitus	2a	3:13
39. dissimilar	F — L dissimilis	1a	54
40. divide-nd divisor, division	L dividere	2b	1:1
41. eliminate-tion	L p.p. of eliminare—ex + limen		
42. equal, equation	L aequalis and aequatio, both from aequus	1a aequus	57
43. equivalent	F — L pr.p. of aequivalere — aequus + valere	1a both	57
44. example	F — L exemplum — eximere	2b exemplum	1:8
45. exponent	L pr.p. of exponere	1b ponere	37
46. express-ion	F — L p.p. of exprimere	1a premere	59
47. extreme	F — L extremus	1a	55
48. factor	L factor — facere	1b	26
49. formula	L formula — forma	1b	20
50. fraction-al	F — L fractio—frangere	2a	4:29
51. fulcrum	L fulcrum—fulcire		
52. fundamental	F — L fundamentum — fundare	3	
53. identity	F — L Late L identitas — idem	1a	50
54. imagin-e-ary	F — L imaginari — imago	3	3:5
55. in-consistent	L in + pr.p. of consistere	2b	1:13
56. in-dependent	L in + pr.p. of dependere	2b impendere	1:6
57. in-determinate	L in + p.p. of determinare— terminus	3	
58. index	L index. Allied to indicare	3	
59. indicate	L p.p. of indicare	2	See "condition"
60. inte-ger-gral	L integer — in + tangere	2a integer	3:4
61. interest	F — L interest	1a	73
62. introduction	F — L introductio — introducere	1b ducere	23
63. inver-sely-sion	F — L p.p. of invertere	1a vertere	47
64. jointly	F — L iungere	2b	1:8
65. letter, literal	F — L litteralis and littera	1a littera	49
66. lever	F — L levator — levare — levis	2a levis	2:10
67. linear	L linearis — linea — linum	2a linum	3:13
68. mean	F — L medianus — medius	1a	53
69. member	F — L membrum	2a	4:24

70. minuend	L ger. of minuere	(1a minus 55 (2b minuere 1:20
71. minus	L minus	1a 55
72. miscellaneous,) mixed)	L(miscellaneous—miscere (p.p. of miscere	3
73. monomial	L and Gr. monos + nomen	1a 51
74. multi-ple-ply-plier) multipli-cand-cation)	L and (multiplicare—multiplex F—L (multus +—plex—plicare 1b multus	12
75. negative	F — L negativus — negare	1a 72
76. number	F — L numerus	1b 17
77. numerator	L numerator—numerare — numerus	1b 17
78. operation	F — L operatio — operari — opera	1a opus 41
79. opposite	F — L p.p. of opponere	1b ponere 37
80. ordinate	F — L p.p. of ordinare — ordo	1a 40
81. original	F — L origo — oriri	1a 60
82. partial	F — L Late L partialis — pars	1a 50
83. percentage	L per centum	1a centum 58
84. plus	L plus	1a 55
85. polynomial	F — L and Gr. poly + nomen	1a nomen 51
86. positive	F — L positivus — p.p. of ponere	1b 37
87. power	F — L 8th century potere = posse	1b 37
88. preface	F — L praefatio — praefari	3 fateri
89. prefix	F — L p.p. of praefigere	3 figere
90. prime	F — L prima (hora) — primus	1a 48
91. process	F — L processus — procedere	1b discedere 30
92. product	L p.p. of producere	1b ducere 23
93. properties	F — L proprietas — proprius	3 1:5
94. proportion-al	F — L proportio — pro + portio, allied to pars	1a 50
95. pure	F — L purus	3
96. quadratic	L p.p. of quadrare — quadrus, allied to quattuor	1a 58
97. quantity	F — L quantitas — quantus	2b 1:17
98. quotient	L or F—L quotiens — quot	2b 1:29
99. radical	F — L radix. Cognate with "root."	
100. ratio	L ratio. cf. p.p. of reri	2b ratio 1:28
101. rectangle	F — L rectangulus — rectus + angulus	(3 recta 1:9 (See "angle"
102. reduce, reduction	L reducere	1b ducere 23
103. relation	F — L relatio — referre	1a ferre 73

104. remainder	F — L remanere	1a manere	52
105. represent	F — L repraesentare — praesens	2b praesentia	1:15
106. result	F — L resultare — resilire — re + salire	1a desilire	52
107. satisfy	F — L Late L satisfacere — satisfacere	1a satis (1b facere)	52 26
108. select	L p.p. of seligere — se — + legere	2a colligere	3:6
109. sign	F — L signum	1a	45
110. similar	F — L similis (as if from similaris)	1a	54
111. simplify	F — L simplex + —ficare — facere	(1b facere) (3 simpliciter)	26
112. simultaneous	L Late L simultaneous — simul	2b	1:19
113. solve, solution	L and F — L solve	2a	4:23
114. special	F — L specialis — species	2a	2:31
115. squar-e-ing	F — L quadrare — quadrus, related to quattuor	1a	58
116. substitute	F — L p.p. of substitutus — sub + statuere	1a	56
117. subtract-ion) subtrahend)	L p.p. and ger. of subtrahere	1a trahere	57
118. sum	F — L summa — summus	1b	39
119. summary	F — L summarium — summa — summus	1b	39
120. supplement-ary	F — L supplementum — supplere	1b plenus	32
121. surd	L surdus		
122. term	F — L terminus	3	
123. transpose	F — L and Gr. trans + Late L pausa		
124. triangle	F — L triangulum — tri — + angulus	(1a tres (See "angle"	58
125. trinomial	L tri — + nomen	(1a tres (1a nomen	58 51
126. unit	F — L unitas — unus	1b	16
127. use	F — L usus (n) related to p.p. of uti	2b uti	1:5
128. value	F — L valere	1a	57
129. varia-ble-tion	F — L variabilis and variatio — variare — varius	2a	2:22
130. vertical	F — L verticalis — vertex		
131. vinculum	L vinculum — vincire	2b vinculum	1:4

WHAT HIGH SCHOOL LATIN FURNISHES TO COLLEGE PREPARATION IN ENGLISH

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I can perhaps put myself more easily into the attitude of a High School student of Latin and of English than can some of my contemporaries because of a rather recent experience in getting acquainted, through four years, with another ancient language, Greek. There is very present with me the delight and illumination of that experience; and something of the same sort should be, I suppose, making due allowance for the difference for experience and perspective, the harvest of the preparatory school student from his four years study of Latin. One element in that result surely should be the light it throws on his English work.

In the first place, a great service to English preparation for college which Latin can perform is an architectural sense: a perception of the structural beauty of a great language, a vivid, constantly growing appreciation of the exquisiteness of adaptation marking a well-wrought Latin sentence, which shall make him growingly impatient of hurried or shabby workmanship. Indeed, by virtue of its very foreignness, the perfect passage from Cicero or from Vergil may, in a very peculiar sense, become the touchstone, for the student, of taste in writing. Such a passage stands bright and clear, far above the shifting tides of fashion or whim, to be judged, necessarily, by its own standards; stands unblurred in its clarity of word association, in its stateliness of word sequence, by the shiftlessnesses and slovenlinesses of current colloquial speech. Intimate the student may grow, in a sense, with the graceful intricacies of this perfect passage; yet out of that intimacy can never rise, because of its very "differentness," any obscuring of it by the filming familiarity of everyday intercourse. I have gone around two weeks now with a sentence of Sallust's running through my brain. "*Erat, inter ingentis solitudines, oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cuius conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur.*" And the city that blossoms for me in the desert out of the mists of ancient legend has lost, by

repetition of the sentence giving birth to it, none of its remote magical qualities; nor, because probably of my Anglo-Saxon inheritance of a different association of thought and therefore of word order, has the exquisite unfolding of the sentence, phrase by phrase, word by word, lost any jot of its vividness. To furnish, then, the students mind with unblurred illustration of noble adaptation of part to part, in a medium adequate and unhackneyed, is one great service that High School Latin can perform for English preparation. And such service, appreciation of Latin construction, is unquestionably performed for the promising student by such knowledge of syntax as enables him to translate English into good Latin. Such translation is ideally accomplished when done with actually constructive imagination. To look back a moment at the Sallust sentence above quoted. The student can easily be made to see how the magic of it springs from the fashion in which it unfolds before our eyes: how under its spell we first feel waste lands stretching around us, then a settlement rising into gallant proportions in its midst, and finally, under the spell of the name of Hercules, receding into legend-haunted perspective. And realizing that, he can soon be brought to realize how in his own work he can, to some degree at least, in his translating of English into Latin, experience the artist's constructive pleasure. Immense care should be taken, it seems to me, that the English passages chosen for Latin prose should be interesting and beautiful. If this is done, the beauty of the English will serve as stimulus toward transformation of it into a new form of beauty, the Latin words and constructions at his disposal will be his materials for the process, and Latin prose will become a genuine aesthetic experience to be repeated in his English composition, if only we can succeed in breaking down the walls which the student seems naturally to build between departments, so that experience in the Latin class room may flow freely into the English.

Closely associated with this stimulation toward good writing, is the service performed by the Latin teachers in the High School in fulfillment of the requirement that the student be able to translate Latin into idiomatic English. Of course the stress lies

on the word "idiomatic"; and here, entirely, the work of the Latin teacher and the English teacher coincide. A literal translation, given an adequate knowledge of forms, is simple enough. But the elusive differences of linguistic temperament which sometimes make a literal translation an essentially false translation are often difficult for the young student to grasp. The subtle logical considerations underlying the English use of prepositions, for instance, in cases where the most sensitive of us rather feels, than sees, the reason for using one instead of another, frequently reveal themselves even to the specially trained mind only after earnest pondering; and you are sometimes forced to the conclusion that mere chance has decided upon one of two equally logical expressions as the correct idiom. I know no situation when one is more overwhelmed, as a teacher, with sense of complete powerlessness than when faced by a polite but firm young student who insistently maintains that if you say, "This woman cherishes a warm regard for her husband's opinions," you are therefore justified in saying, "This woman acts in utter disregard for her husband's opinions"; that if you say "They found the boy engaged in an earnest search for birds' eggs," you must also be permitted to say "He started out in search for birds' eggs." The reason is there, and you will probably think it out in a moment. But meanwhile the student gazes at you with fixed, round eyes, and you know that, whether you think it out then or not, your job is to steer him, for the salvation of his literary soul, between the Scylla of arbitrary purism on the one hand, and the Charybdis of juggernaut individualism on the other. This use of prepositions, then, is one of the stumbling blocks in the path of the young student of English; and no greater illumination on the subject could possibly be furnished him than that gained by his practical knowledge of the careful use of them in his Latin prose, and by the necessity of being equally careful, in his translation of Latin into English, that his prepositions are used with equal punctiliousness. It is quite evident, then, that immense service can be rendered to the English teacher by punctilious care on the part of the Latin teacher that any translation, however free, shall be idiomatic.

I read with interest in the Vassar catalogue the statement that the candidate for entrance here must read Latin prose and verse according to the Roman method of pronunciation, with strict attention to vowel quantities. I feel the strongest possible conviction that a requirement analogous to that should be added to the English requirement for entrance. The lamentable impossibility of getting intelligent, clear-cut reading of simple English poetry and prose, in illustration of the points made in class discussion, is one of the most hampering elements in English work; and here again, it seems to me, we have an illustration of the failure of the student to carry over experience from one department into another. That he actually reads Latin verse paying careful and intensive attention to pronunciation and vowel quantity in one class, and, in the next, tramples over the words in lovely English verse, crushing some out of existence, maiming and mutilating others, is just another proof of the failure of the gallant but hopeless fight waged in the class room against the destructive vandalism that massacres innocent parts of speech during the major portion of the day. "We must not forget," said a Wellesley English instructor recently, "that the English of our class rooms is a foreign language, entirely distinct from the English that the average student speaks elsewhere." The Latin teacher in preparatory schools furnishes effective aid to English college preparation when she emphasizes the fact that recognition, by means of correct reading aloud, of the dignity and beauty of the Latin hexametre, ought to prove for the student one entrance into the pleasant land of Faerie where the rhythms of the poets flow on like rivers through landscapes their artistic vision has created for us. I sometimes wonder if a little comparative work could not be done here,—if Latin and English classes could not meet together to read Milton and Spenser and Vergil in order to compare them; if such co-operation would not serve to throw into interesting contrast the characteristic qualities of their verse. This sort of comparative work, bringing English verse into direct connection with their strenuous training in Latin scansion, would be one means, surely, of domesticating for him, as it were, the idea of careful handling of English poetry, so that careless or slovenly reading of it would seem mutilation.

Another service which preparatory school Latin renders to English college preparation is, of course, comprehension of the actual meaning of English words. As a matter of fact, however, it is singular how little established among the students when they come to college is the habit of turning back to Latin for the grasping of word-significance. One easily pardons, of course, the student who remarked that *an anarchy* was a government in which the power was centralized in the hands of one man, since she probably has not studied Greek; but when it comes to variously defining *comitatus* as "a man bound to the service of a chief, or even as "the oath that binds him" one must protest that something is wrong. That chronic error of the mathematic class room, also, the constant mixing up of the verbs *intersect* and *intercept*; is a fair example of the dullness of young students in regard to the etymology of words. Of course the point is that though, in a general way, the average student actually does know that many English words are derived from Latin, and although the fact has been, no doubt, amply illustrated for him, he has not really assimilated that knowledge in any such way as to make his Latin an immediate effective illuminator of his English. Latin remains, after all, to many a student, an aloof, ancient tongue from which during the centuries English has borrowed many of its longer words. I have often wondered if in some way this linguistic chasm could not, in the mind of the student, be more effectively bridged; if Latin could be made to seem to him, linguistically, not a mere esoteric storehouse from which English pulls out, from time to time, words of from three to five syllables, or, to change the figure, if he could be made to feel towards it not as towards a rich and remote benefactor of English (somewhat resented sometimes, as rich benefactors, through an unpleasant trait in human nature, usually are), but as towards its a genuine linguistic brother. He needs to be made to realize that, not only when he is using such words as *compromise*, *priority*, *regulation*, etc., is he touching Latin, but that when he is using many short homely native English words such as "tooth," "book," "black," "feather," "flow," he is touching it in quite as real a sense, since in each case he is using a word that has not been contributed to English, late in

time, from Latin, but one that has a veritable Latin twin in the sense that both have descended, through the ages, along different paths, from the same Indo-European root. In short, if he could have stated and illustrated for him early in his Latin work, in connection with a chart showing the various branches of the Indo-European family, the fact that one reason why English looks so different from Latin is that the Teutonic languages took early a big consonant shift so that many a homely English word in daily use is only a disguised, linguistic brother of a homely Latin word, I think it would have a tremendous effect in making Latin seem close to him. This fact of linguistic cognation, as distinguished from derivation, immensely interests very young people. They are only mildly interested in the fact that *dentist* is a derivative of Latin *den-t-*; but that the cognate *tooth* is actually the twin of Latin *den-t-* surprises and pleases them. They exhibit a languid, somewhat bored, interest in the derivation of our word *pen* from the Latin *penna*; but their interest becomes marked at discovering that our word *feather* is the same word with a mask on. And whereas the word *carpere* is received politely by them as a part of their ordinary Latin vocabulary, it instantly springs into poetic light and color when they realize that our word *harvest* is practically exactly the same word disguised, and means *the thing plucked*. Years of experience with young students have convinced me that realization of this fact of the cognation of homely English and Latin words, reinforcing the fact of the derivation of many English words from Latin, immensely strengthens the sense of the nearness of Latin to English, marshals the Latin vocabulary, in fact, into an army of effective auxiliaries marching each shoulder to shoulder with its English mate. It seems to me that there might be effective co-operation between the Latin and English departments in developing in the student a sense of language relationships, so that a table of the branches of the Indo-European family might gain life and vividness by means of concrete instances, and that thus a foundation might be laid for, and an interest aroused in, the history of language.

As a teacher of literature I turn with especial interest to the prescribed reading outlined in the Latin requirements for admission to Vassar; and the points I have heretofore touched, the nice

appreciation of Latin construction, and the nice appreciation of Latin derivatives springing from study of their composition and meaning, are called into instant requisition as elements in equipment for adequate literary criticism. This is primarily true of course of writers such as Milton whose style so markedly shows Latin influence and yet so triumphantly vindicates the essential originality of his genius; just as, in connection with Greek, Matthew Arnold, profoundly moved by the great Greek writers, reflecting them again and again in dramatic or epic structure, yet subtly modifies such structure to application to wild northern mythology or modern philosophical theory. Especially necessary, also, for critical appreciation of Milton is familiarity with the history of Latin derivatives since they have, often, in his hands advanced only a part of the way towards their modern meaning, or have been deliberately, for purposes of vividness, pushed back toward their first significations. *Earth a punctual spot; heavens' ruining; Delilah a specious snare*, discovering Samson's *capital secret*, such word-groups can only be adequately understood by one used to the historical treatment of meanings. The point I made a moment ago, the resting of much of Milton's structure squarely on classical foundations, touches one of the chief services that Latin can render to English,—the laying foundations for the comparative study of literature. Actual material for such comparative study lies at hand in the preparatory school course: comparison, for instance, of the brilliant stories of Ovid and of Chaucer; of the orations of Cicero and of Burke, etc. And there are significant stores of material from Latin sources that, by proper emphasis, may be stored up in the minds for comparative use in the future as he becomes more widely acquainted with English. Not only on the score of his brilliancy does Ovid challenge comparison with Chaucer. His telling of the Medea story invites comparison not only with Chaucer's telling of it, but also with Caxton's, Hayward's, and Morris's; Nepos's biographies, with Asser's of Alfred; Vergil's eclogues with Barclay's, Spenser's and Pope's; and Vergil's *Aeneid* with English epic from *Beowulf* to Morris's *Sigurd*, Arnold's *Balder*, ad Noyes's *Drake*. The rich and beautiful background for the study of English literature that can be furnished to the pupil by the intensive study of the

great Latin writers cannot be over-estimated in value, if this point of view is constantly and consistently impressed upon him.

Latin, then, is furnishing to English preparation for college, first, a nice appreciation of beautiful sentence structure based upon practice in turning idiomatic English into idiomatic Latin; second, practice in subtle English idiom by translating Latin into idiomatic English; third, a habit of close attention to text necessitated by proper pronunciation of Latin, scansion of Latin verse, etc., with ultimate contribution to the student's power to read aloud well English verse; fourth, illumination as to the meaning of English words; fifth, the possibility of actual practice in the methods of comparative literature, and a storehouse of material for later comparative work in college. And one method of allowing free play of this influence of Latin preparation on English preparation would be, surely, the freest kind of intercourse between the two departments: meetings of classes to read and talk over Latin and English poetry, for instance; or to note the Ovidian touches appearing in Arnold's *Balder Dead*; the reporting from one class to another of interesting etymological lore. A multitude of connections between the classes could be made if there were only more time.

But, after all, I find that the thing that has been most persistently with me in thinking over this matter is one I have not mentioned yet and one which seems to me, perhaps, in these days, the most important of all, namely, the creating vividly, and as a permanent possession in the mind of the student, a sense of the beauty of antiquity. "The glory we call Rome," shining characteristically through its stately linguistic medium, should illumine, for the young student, a spacious field of noble and constructive ancient thought, which, as background, along various lines, for his work in English, should serve to develop that sense of historical perspective without which all knowledge of modern periods and literatures must lack depth and balance. The development of a sense of proportion, through dawning appreciation of the evolutionary relation existing between ancient and modern civilizations, seems to me, on the whole, the most valuable service that High School Latin can offer to College preparation in English.

RESULTS OF A WORD-ANALYSIS TEST

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This test was given, through the courtesy and with the hearty cooperation of the Department of English, to 522 students in the required course in English Composition during the second semester, 1920-21. Conflicts in schedule and the desire to give as many of the sections the test in one day as we could make it impossible to reach all the members of the class. The validity of the results is thus impaired by the relatively small number of papers available. They are still thought to have some significance for teachers of Latin. The majority of the students were of course Freshmen, representing all the Undergraduate Schools (College, Education, Economics, Mines, Engineering and Chemistry). The number tested, though small, may be regarded as a fair cross section of the class. Some of the students belonged to the other classes: one of the highest scores was made by a Senior of Polish birth who was required to take this course because he came to this country only in the summer of 1920. One section was composed of evening students, many of them of more mature years than the average college freshman. This section did very well on the test.

The purpose of the test was to find out to what extent college freshmen possessed the ability to analyze words and thus determine their meaning. The words were not chosen by chance nor yet by any method of sampling. They were chosen deliberately to test the power to deal with linguistic emergencies of the sort that may be met in any but the simplest reading matter. They were chosen also to aid in ascertaining the habits of students under such circumstances. All the words will reveal something at least of their meaning under analysis. Five are of Greek origin, the others of Latin, and with the exception of "antediluvian," the essential elements of all are found in the vocabulary of high school Latin. Students of Latin should therefore have a decided advantage. The test was then not intended to measure extent of

vocabulary, and the words chosen are not necessarily fair samples of the average vocabulary. The intention was to measure power rather than achievement. In a sense the test becomes a test of perception and also a test of intelligence. It should be borne in mind that there was no effort to compare Latin and non-Latin students as to size or rate of acquisition of vocabulary. In this respect the test differs from most other tests of this general kind.

The list of words is as follows: tergiversation, diaphanous, pestiferous, intercessor, omniscient, motivate, sympathy, coadjutor, beatitude, tercentenary, et cetera, internecine, incomprehensible, diabolical, centripetal, prosecute, reverential, hypocrite, incommiscible, sycophant, alias, equanimity, vitiate, antediluvian, disintegrate. Some of the Greek words were chosen from Mr. Ireland's list (see his *High Schools and Classics*, reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly* by the American Classical League). The time limit was 25 minutes. The students were informed that a definition showing that a word had been understood through analysis was preferable to one merely remembered from a dictionary. The necessary vagueness of this direction may have affected somewhat the answers given, and certainly affected the scoring of some answers. Some persons knew how to use "alias" correctly but did not know how it got its present meaning and use.

Each word was graded on a scale of 0 to 4. As uniformity in grading was more important than strict accuracy (the scores having relative rather than absolute significance), all the papers were scored by one person after consultation with the other authors as to standards and acceptable definitions of each word. The perfect score of 4 was given only to an answer that showed an understanding of the meaning of the English word plus the ability to trace it to its source. The highest score was 92, the lowest 0, the median 42.7. Even though we console ourselves with the thought that the scores are important relatively rather than absolutely, that the test was not designed to measure vocabulary-acquisition, and that the method of scoring did not insure certain varieties of justice, it is impossible to find much satisfaction in these results. The number of students tested is too small to encourage generalization, but the results are another indication

of the linguistic weakness of our students and their comparative helplessness in the face of such difficulties.

The following table shows the distribution of the scores according to the amount of Latin studied. For easy comparison the distribution is expressed in percentages:

	6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4½ yrs	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.
Number of students	1	2	9	90	69	213	47	91
Lowest quartile			11.1	7.7	11.6	28.6	42.5	37.3
Third quartile		50.0		22.2	21.7	24.8	21.3	35.1
Second quartile			44.4	22.2	29.0	28.2	21.3	18.7
Highest quartile	100.0	50.0	44.4	47.9	37.7	18.4	14.9	8.9

The interpretation of these figures is as follows: The number of students who had studied, e. g., 4 years of Latin is 90. Of these 47.9% are in the highest quarter of the group, and only 7.7% in the lowest. The number who had had no Latin is almost the same. Yet of these only 8.9% were in the highest quarter while 37.3% were in the lowest quarter. Thus a four-year Latin student has about five times as good a chance to be among the highest fourth of the class and the same chance to escape being among the lowest fourth. The three students with 6 and 5 years of Latin are all foreign born and relatively unfamiliar with English. Their success in this test shows the value of their linguistic training. Another foreign born student, whose paper was thrown out because he gave only the Latin and Greek sources and no meanings at all (his answers were almost perfect as far as he went) testifies that he follows his lectures mainly through his knowledge of Latin. This student had 8 years of Latin, 6 years of Greek and 8 years of German in a Polish Gymnasium. The 9 students with 4½ years of Latin were taking freshman Latin at the time of the test and had had considerable drill in derivative work. It is to be regretted that all the Latin freshmen were not tested.

These scores therefore reveal the value of Latin in the mastery of vocabulary. The three- and four-year students are distinctly better than the others, a fact which may be put against the recent testimony of President Brown (accepted by Professor Judd) that Latin students make little progress after the second year. These figures would suggest that in some respects they do. It

would be interesting to know the reasons. Perhaps Latin is fresher in mind; perhaps these students have had more drill in sight translation, with the inevitable insistence on analysis and derivative work; perhaps the habit of analyzing words has been more firmly fixed, and this habit is certainly one that can be taught and that can carry over to new activities. Possibly other causes still were operative. Only more material and prolonged investigation can tell.

The next chapter of our interpretation is not so pleasant. The scores of the highest quartile range from 54 to 92. Only 8 persons made scores of 80 or higher, 7 scored from 75 to 79 and 10 more from 70 to 74. If the passing grade had been 70 only 25 would have passed. Evidently though our Latin students do better than the non-Latin, they do not do very well. The distribution of these 25 students according to the amount of Latin studied is as follows; percentages are used as before:

6 yrs.	4½ yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.
4.0	12.0	40.0	12.0	16.0	12.0	4.0

Latin is undoubtedly one factor in the superior success of these students, but only one. All but 2 of the 25 under consideration have studied other foreign languages. The highest score (92) was made by an evening student who had studied Latin 4 years, German 3, French 2, and Greek 2. A student with 4 years of Latin and 2 of French made 88. The Senior of Polish birth, who made 83, states that he has had "6 years Latin, 8 German, 7 French, 1 Greek, etc., etc., etc." A large number of students derived "diabolical" from the French or Spanish, while many more said that "incomprehensible" came from French or Spanish rather than Latin. This suggests that linguistic connections may be made by modern language teachers more successfully than by us. The amount and character of the influence of other languages on the scores can not at this time be determined.

The papers were also scored according to the number of words tried. The results are negative. The higher scores of the three- and four-year Latin students imply that they tried more words. No student with four or more years of Latin tried fewer than 12

words and only 16 tried fewer than 18. However one student who had had four years of Latin and who tried 20 words making a score of 18 offered the following definitions, showing an absolute abuse of his Latin training: tergiversation, "to have three in a conversation, ter, three from Latin;" incomprehensible: "it is not natural or likely to happen, something out of the ordinary;" diaphanous: "two shaped, dia- two from latin (sic), phanous—shape from latin;" pestiferous: "narrow minded person, pesti—narrow from latin." For such students the study of Latin is positively dangerous. Perhaps I should add, for such teachers. The same is true of another four-year student who derived "reverential" from revento, turn against, and "vitiate" from vito, life. Thirty students tried all the words. According to the amount of Latin studied they are distributed as follows (numbers, not percentages, used here):

6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4½ yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.	not given
1	1	1	10		12	1	2	2

No conclusions can be drawn from such figures. On the other hand, of 55 students who tried fewer than 12 words, the distribution in numbers is as follows:

6 yrs.	5 yrs.	4½ yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.	not given
				3	21	6	24	1

We may infer then that the study of Latin does have some effect on the readiness of students to attempt the solution of such problems as these, in some cases perhaps too much effect. Farther than that we can not go at present. The amount of influence exerted by the study of other foreign languages can not be estimated at this time.

It is our desire that ultimately we may be able to correlate these scores with intelligence scores, but the material is not yet available. The entire scholastic records of these students should be carefully studied, but this has not been done as yet. It is known that a considerable number of the students making low scores have been dropped for poor grades, but exact figures are not available at present. It is not believed that this test by itself has any great predictive value, but this needs investigation.

While most of the students tested come from Pennsylvania the number from other states is large enough to suggest a fear that the conditions are fairly general. It is clear that greater ability to handle new words and improved habits of attack upon new words will not automatically result from the study of Latin. Derivatives will not teach themselves. Everything indicates that one of the principal aims, if not the most important aim, of Latin teaching in the future will be better English, and along with that concrete result, better linguistic habits. This test indicates clearly that a more conscious effort must be made by teachers. In consequence, our freshman courses have already been modified to include more drill on derivative work and the creation of better habits of attack through more systematic work in sight translation, and still more work in this direction will be done with next year's classes. These measures are taken despite the comparative success of the few members of the freshman Latin classes who took this test. It is believed that similar steps can profitably be taken in the secondary schools. For several years the University of Pittsburgh has conducted an annual Latin contest. The preliminary consists of sight translation, the final of a derivative contest. Usually the prizes are won by students from schools that pay considerable attention to this sort of work. Such results are not gained by mere chance. Conscious effort must be made by teacher and pupil.

These comments are not made in a spirit of discouragement or criticism. We confess that we were disappointed that the scores of Latin students were not larger and that the gap between them and the non-Latin students was not wider. We are glad that they did so well, but we wish that they had done still better.

We hope that it may be possible this year to repeat the test with larger numbers of students, and if other schools, particularly the colleges, will give the test to their freshmen, we shall be glad to score the papers as well as to furnish copies of the test and directions for its administration. Results from individual institutions will be communicated to them and published separately or held for mass publication as desired. By such means we hope that some progress may be made toward learning the

facts, and without such accumulations of facts we can not hope for much improvement in the Latin situation. With them we can proceed to prove to all what we believe in—the right of Latin to a place in any scheme of education.¹

ADDENDUM

During the first week of this school year, the same test was given to 583 freshmen just entering. The difference in date may make comparisons with last year's scores of uncertain validity. The high score was 73, the median 32.5, the low score 0. The scores are therefore considerably lower than those of last year; to what extent this is due to the instruction in English that last year's class had had can not be determined. The distribution is as follows (expressed as in the first table above):

	8 yrs.	6 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.
Number of students	1*	1*	90	75	242	49	125
Lowest quartile			12.3	8.2	24.5	26.6	44.8
Third quartile	100		13.3	26.6	29.3	36.7	28.8
Second quartile		100	27.7	18.6	23.9	22.5	20.0
Highest quartile			46.7	46.6	22.3	14.2	6.4

*Born and trained abroad.

The interpretation of these scores may be inferred from the preceding discussion.

Forty-two of these students have been put into a sub-freshman course in English, to enable them to remedy defects in training. Their distribution according to amount of Latin is:

	8 yrs.	6 yrs.	4 yrs.	3 yrs.	2 yrs.	1 yr.	0 yrs.
Number of students	1	0	3	7	17	5	9
Percentage	2.4		7.1	16.7	40.5	11.9	21.3

The distribution according to scores is as follows:

Lowest quartile, 22 or 52.4%; third quartile, 12 or 28.6%; second quartile, 5 or 11.9%; highest quartile, 3 or 7.1%. The test therefore appears to have a certain amount of predictive value.

¹ The Department of Latin is prepared to administer certain other Latin tests as well, particularly in the secondary schools.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

THEMISTOCLES AND THE SERIPHIAN

Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: "Nec hercule," inquit, "si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses" (Cic. Cato 8). This is one of the famous witticisms of antiquity. While it is hardly possible to say anything new about it, it seems worth while to bring together in a form readily accessible some amusing material that is pertinent to it.

It would seem that Themistocles kept this type of repartee on tap. At all events the Seriphian was not the only one to suffer from it. On one occasion after the Athenian had received signal honors from the Spartans, he was informed by a man from Aphidna that the honors had fallen to him as a mark of respect for Athens, not for himself (Herod. 8.125). Themistocles replied: "I should not have been so honored if I were from Belbina, nor would you, my fellow, as an Athenian." The rocky islet of Belbina, which was some ten miles off the coast of Sunium, was evidently a target for many shafts (Stob. 40.8).

Seriphus, too, was proverbially unimportant. It was called *parva* by Ovid (Met. 5.242) and by Juvenal (6.564; 10.170). Even animal life on the island felt its blighting influence. Frogs that had the misfortune to be born there were mute, but when they were transported elsewhere they recovered their vocal powers (Arist. Mir. Ausc. 70; Ael. Nat. Anim. 3.37; Plin. Nat. Hist. 8.227). A change of climate was not, however, an infallible cure for Seriphian aphasia. Some frogs of Seriphian extraction that were taken to Scyros did not regain their voice, so that the expression 'Frog from Seriphus,' came to denote a mute (Suidas, s.v., *βάρραχος ἐκ Σερίφου*).

Even Seriphian hares and foxes were dwarfs. In showing how unsophisticated the islanders were Cicero writes (Nat. Deor. 1.88): "Had you been born in Seriphus and had you never been off the island on which you had often seen stunted hares and foxes, you would not believe in the existence of lions and panthers when their character was being described to you; and if any one mentioned an elephant, you would think you were being made a laughing stock."

Almost inevitably Seriphians of any education felt keenly the status of their country. An Athenian who derided a Seriphian on his birthplace received for an answer: "My country is a disgrace to me, you to your country" (Stob. Flor. 39.29).

While our references to Seriphus as an insignificant place are all later than the date of Themistocles, it is reasonable to suppose that at the time the Athenian uttered his jest the island was already a byword, a Gopher Prairie in fact. Themistocles' double-barreled rejoinder to the Seriphian caused many a chuckle in antiquity. It is quoted no fewer than four times in the extant literature (Plato Rep. 329E; Plut. Themist. 18; Mor. 185C; Cic. Cato 8).

Somewhat suggestive of the Athenian's retort is the answer Alexander gave to Parmenio, when Darius made a liberal proposal to Alexander just before the battle of Arbela (Plut. Alex. 29). Parmenio said: "I should accept it if I were Alexander." "So would I," replied Alexander, "if I were Parmenio."

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

THE TABOO ON FISH IN THE WORSHIP OF THE GREAT MOTHER

Julian in his Hymn to the Mother of the Gods discusses (V 176 f.) certain foods which are forbidden by the ritual of the Great Mother, such foods as the fruit of the date-palm, pork, and fish.

The reason for the exclusion of the fruit of the date-palm he finds in the fact that this tree does not grow in Phrygia, where the rites of the Great Mother were first celebrated.

He thinks that the prohibition on pork is due to the nature of swine and considers their "flesh as impure and coarse."

The reasons which Julian finds for the taboo on pork were doubtless those which induced the Hebrew lawgivers to place a prohibition on this meat as food, and with the Hebrews as with the Phrygians this restraining ordinance was based on hygienic principles.

Although the rites of the Great Mother forbid the use of fish, this form of food is specifically encouraged by the Laws of Moses: Leviticus XI, 9: "Whatsoever hath fins and scales in the waters, in the seas, and in the rivers, them shall ye eat."

While Julian can explain the taboo on the fruit of the palm-tree, and on the flesh of swine, he flounders in his attempts to explain this taboo in regard to fish, but reaches the conclusion that the very fact that fish must live in the water and cannot reside in the purer regions of the upper air has made their flesh unfit for food with the followers of the Great Mother.

In this Journal XII, 328, I tried to prove that the Homeric antipathy to fish was due to the fact that the fish in the streams around Smyrna make very poor food and that the Homeric poetry reflects the feelings or dislikes of a man from Smyrna.

I have asked Sir William Ramsay in regard to the fish in Phrygia and he has assured me that in all his travels in that country he did not find a single stream which furnished palatable fish, and even where the fish seemed of good quality they were most unwholesome and could be eaten only with the greatest caution.

The worship of the Great Mother originated in Phrygia and her rites contained this taboo on fish, because the fish in the streams of Phrygia could not be eaten with impunity.

The rivers and seas with which the Hebrew lawgivers were familiar abounded in fish the flesh of which was extremely wholesome and palatable, hence the religion of the Hebrews encouraged the use of a food which was denied to the Phrygians.

In either case the law was due to sane hygienic principles, and neither, when understood, has anything of caprice or mystery.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

ASTROLOGY AND DEMOCRACY

On the last page of his admirable book, "Modern Democracies," Viscount Bryce writes: "There is an Eastern story of a king with an uncertain temper who desired his astrologer to discover from the stars when his death would come. The astrologer, having cast the horoscope, replied that he could not find the date, but had ascertained only this that the king's death would follow immediately on his own. So may it be said that Democracy will never perish till after Hope has perished."

The ascription of this story to an "Eastern" source puzzles me; for it is a familiar incident in the life of the Emperor Tiberius, the astrologer being Thrasyllus (Tacitus, Ann. VI, 21: Suetonius, Tib. 14: Cassius Dio, LV, 11). Practically the same story is related in "Quentin Durward" (Ch. XXIX), the characters being Louis XI of France and his astrologer Galeotti Martivalle, an Italian whose adventures had brought him into contact with the East, and who is therefore surrounded by oriental attributes. Indeed, Scott remarks in a note that "the same, or nearly the same story, is told of Tiberius," and proceeds to recount it, not quite accurately.

Now though we owe more to the East than we commonly suspect, Lord Bryce, in the course of his extraordinary life, has had a chance to forget more than most men ever knew. I wonder whether his story is not perhaps the Roman tale, recollected either from the original sources or from the version of Scott. In any case, it is *ben trovato*.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM C. GREENE

VERGIL, ECLOGUE VIII, 39

alter ab undecimo . . . annus

Conington's note upon this passage reads thus: "Authorities were at one time divided on the question whether 'alter ab undecimo' meant the twelfth or the thirteenth, the former view being supported by Vives, Camerarius, Nannius, Sigonius, the elder Scaliger and Castalio; the latter by Servius, Euphrasius, Manutius and the younger Scaliger. See Taubmann's note. Modern editors have found little difficulty in deciding it to be the twelfth, considering 'alter' to be convertible with 'secundus,' but following the inclusive mode of counting. Comp. 'alter ab illo' 5.49; 'heros ab Achille secundus' Hos. 2S. 3.193. The Romans counted both inclusively and exclusively."

The meaning of "secundus ab undecimo" is undoubtedly "twelfth," but the explanation is unsatisfactory. May we not give "alter" its ordinary force of *the other* of two things considered? *The other* from the *eleventh* would be the twelfth in a progressing order. The confusion has arisen in part because of the use of "alter" as a synonym of "secundus" (second) and the fact that we have the idiom "secundus ab illo" "second to him," but this meaning of "secundus" is derived not from its meaning "second," paradoxical as it may sound, but from its meaning of "following" or "next to" and it is in this sense also that "alter ab illo" is to be taken.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

J. B. PIKE

PLAUTUS, CAPTIVI 984

In this line we learn that the young Captive, who goes by the name of Tyndarus, had as a child been called Paegnium. Editors do not fail to call attention to the fact that this is a *redender name*, merely a translation of the Greek *παίγνιον*, "plaything," comparable to our "Pet" (Lindsay, *Captivi ad loc.*), "Goldie," or "Buster" in origin. This explanation may be correct and fully satisfactory, but I should like to offer another. *Παίγνιον* suggests rather strikingly the proverbial *ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ τι παίγνιον ἐστίν* (Laws 803C and elsewhere). If Plautus, or the author of the original Greek play, must have a tell-tale name for a boy stolen from his home at the age of four, captured in war twenty years later, and as a result of that capture a slave in his own father's house, he could hardly choose a better one than <Θεῶν> *παίγνιον*. This interpretation is borne out by a line of the Prologue (22). The speaker is informing the audience that Tyndarus is a slave now in his father's house, though neither he nor his father knows it, and then in true New Comedy fashion he moralizes on the sad lot of man: "Di nos quasi pilas homines habent."

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

J. O. LOFBERG

AN ANCIENT SPORTING TERM

Students of the Classics who permit themselves so far to stray from grace as to become casual or confirmed readers of the sporting section of the daily newspapers, may conceivably be familiar with the somewhat curious term "punch-drunk." It is vividly and picturesquely descriptive of the physical condition of the pugilist who, under the shock of severe blows, has sustained a slight concussion of the brain and reels about with glazed eyes and a general deportment suggestive of an advanced stage of intoxication.

The sporting editor who glibly writes of the "punch-drunk" boxer is doubtless altogether innocent of any knowledge of Theocritus. Nevertheless, when he employs the expression he is but Anglicizing a phrase of that poet's. In his Hymn to the Dioscuri, Theocritus paints for us a brilliant—albeit a gory—picture of the pugilistic combat between Amycus and Polydeuces during a pause in the journey of the latter to Colchis. At the beginning of the contest, the son of Zeus, like the "ring-general" of modern times, craftily manoeuvres so as to have the sun on his back, and meets the rushing attacks of his antagonist with a veritable shower of blows which flesh and blood cannot long endure. Ere long Amycus is in dire distress.

ἵστη δὲ πληγαῖς μῦθων, ἐκ δ' ἔπτυσεν αἷμα
φόνων.

"He stood 'punch-drunk' and spat out crimson blood." (xxii. 98.)

Of course the unearthing of modern sporting and even slang expressions in the ancient texts is nothing new. The student of Aristophanes is wont to point out the (seeming) prototype of the now obsolescent "Go chase yourself!" in *The Clouds*, 1296.

οὐκ ἀποδιώξεις σαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας;

ALLEGHENY COLLEGE

A. D. FRASER

PATRICK HENRY AND THE SIREN

In his famous "Give me liberty or give me death" speech Patrick Henry said: "We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the sound of that siren until she transforms us into beasts." It is most unlikely that it has not been previously noted that the eloquent patriot had confused the siren with Circe, since the song of the sirens lured men to destruction, while it was the spell or the potions of Circe which transformed them into beasts, but I have gone over several editions of his orations without finding any reference to this confusion.

JOHN A. SCOTT

MORE HOMERIC REMINISCENCES

In the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for January, 1921 (XVI, pp. 243 ff.), in the department of Notes, Professor Winter has a very interesting article on Homeric Reminiscences. The following is parallel from the United States Navy. I have the story from one of our students who served in the navy during the late war; he tells it this way: "The gobs in the navy get homesick occasionally, and one fellow said after he had received a letter from home, 'When I get out of this navy I'm going to start inland and carry an anchor with me. And when I get so far inland that they don't know what an anchor is I'm going to drop it and stay there for the rest of my life.'"

The form and feeling are strikingly like the English examples given by Professor Winter. Has the British Navy passed on a Homeric tradition to the American Navy? It would be worth while to find other modern examples of the survival of the idea.

In connection with the passages from the Odyssey, I should like to call attention to the two fragments of Sophocles (415 and 416, Nauck),* from the Odysseus Acanthoplex, where Sophocles evidently made use of the Homeric idea and even of Homer's words. This was probably quite as effective in the drama as in the epic.

MUHLENBERG COLLEGE
Allentown, Pa.

ROBERT C. HORN

*Fragment 415. ποδαπὸν τὸ δῶρον ἀμφὶ φαιδίμοις ἔχων ὤμοις;
Fragment 416. ὤμοις ἀθηρόβρωτον δράκοντα φέρων.

Hints for Teachers

Edited by B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be answered in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.

Latin for English

I am well aware that many an experienced Latin teacher will say that it is all well and good for a visionary college professor to theorize about derivative work and other new things in Latin teaching but that there simply is not time to introduce anything more. This attitude is that of the conservative who believes that the Latin teaching of the past is still quite satisfactory and needs no change. If Latin for English is really worth while we should not hesitate to abandon something else if necessary. The suggestion made in the last issue of the "Hints" that three semesters, instead of two, be devoted to the elements of Latin and to easy reading might afford time for the new material. Again it should not be forgotten that many phases of Latin for English are so helpful to Latin itself that no extra time is needed. If by one operation we make Latin function for English and English function for Latin our critics will be forced to admit that we have done very well in the matter of economy of time.

Lantern Slides

In these days most schools are equipped with one or more stereopticons, and many Latin teachers make use of them. Generally speaking, the best as well as the cheapest for classroom purposes is a small portable lantern utilizing ordinary electric current and equipped with a nitrogen-filled bulb.

The use of lantern slides has gone through three stages, each stage making it simpler for the teacher to use slides. In the first stage, the teacher had slides made from such books or pictures as were available. This is still, of course, an excellent plan, but it means work for the teacher and it requires access to a fair body of material in books or pictures. In the second stage, various individuals and companies put on sale large numbers of slides, to be selected by the teacher from catalogues. This also is still a good method of securing slides. The third stage has made things still easier for the teacher. Sets of slides on various subjects most interesting to high-school students have been prepared, with accompanying descriptive text or lectures. In many states sets of slides are circulated free of charge to schools in the state by some educational institution, usually the State University, or by the State Department of Education. For information write to the Latin Department or the Extension Division of your State University. Below I give the

names of some firms from which slides may be purchased. In addition, most of the picture dealers mentioned in the "Hints" for June, 1921, also furnish lantern slides. Prices at present vary so much that I do not quote them. Single slides cost from \$.40 up. Large lots and sets are generally cheaper. Each of the firms has catalogues. The first two have sets with lectures.

Frederick B. Wright, Kensington, Md. (Records of the Past Exploration Society.) Single slides and sets of about 50 slides, on Ancient Rome, Beginning Latin, Pompeii, Mythology, Aeneid, Homer, etc.

Eastman Roman Life Co., Iowa City, Ia. Nine sets of about 50 slides on Caesar, Virgil, Roman Travel, Houses, Wearing apparel, Games, Trades, Mythology. These sets were originally prepared by the late Professor Eastman for Iowa high schools, to which they are circulated without charge by the Extension Division of the University of Iowa.

Williams, Brown & Earle, 918 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

G. R. Swain, 713 East University Av., Ann Arbor, Mich. Especially strong in Caesar slides.

Henry Blattner, 411 Benoist Bldg., St. Louis, Mo. Especially for the 45 very interesting views of the Saalburg collection at Washington University (*castra*, tools, etc).

Arthur S. Cooley, Bethlehem, Pa.

Keystone View Co., Meadville, Pa.

Learning Verb Forms

The learning of the 150 forms of the typical Latin verb is the biggest task which the student has to confront in his study of inflections. This very important work should be begun early and many of the forms should be learned as rapidly as possible—more rapidly than most books permit. The importance of the verb in Latin itself and in English derivatives as well leads to this suggestion. Methods of learning verb forms thoroughly and rapidly are always welcome. I have seen several large wall charts prepared by pupils or teachers in which the stems and endings were given in different colors. Pupils cannot help absorbing verb forms if such a chart is constantly before their eyes. Miss Abigail Heaton, of Fairfield, Ia., has written a long poem in English of the fairy tale type in which are related the adventures of two children who come to two trees (which are pictured), called "Porto-Active Voice" and "Porto-Passive Voice." The branches of the trees constitute the various tenses and persons. She reports very satisfactory results with this plan. Mention may also be made of the tablets of Latin Verb Blanks, published by Gaylord Bros., Syracuse, N. Y., from whom a sample may be secured. These blanks have printed on them the names of the tenses, etc., and directions for use. The same firm publishes similar Latin Declension Blanks.

Sentence Analysis

In general, I do not favor the practice of diagramming sentences in the Latin class. It always seems to me that this mechanism is more difficult and cumbersome than the sentence itself. Yet I realize that many teachers will disagree with me. I do favor the device of putting over the separate words their grammatical function, e.g., direct object. This is often a help

in putting together the words of a sentence. Mr. A. B. Reynolds, of the Santa Rosa, Cal., High School, has devised a useful "Latin Construction Chart," published by the Mysell-Rollins Co., 32 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal. It is a tablet, each sheet of which is ruled off for the various important constructions. Each space has its appropriate heading, as Nominative Subject. As a Latin sentence is analyzed each word is put in its proper place. Each sheet has room for all the words in a short paragraph. It strikes me that the tablet is particularly useful for classes or students who are weak in sentence analysis. A weak individual can be required to do chart work until he has caught up with the class. The reverse of each sheet has room for derivatives and definitions, and gives lists of prefixes and suffixes. Mr. Reynolds has also produced a very similar chart for English.

A Week of "Selling" Latin

Many a Latin Exhibit to interest students and parents has been given since the publication of Miss Sabin's manual, *The Relation of Latin to Practical Life*. Latin songs, plays and entertainments are now familiar to all (for lists, see these "Hints" for December, February and May of last year). It remained for the Clinton, Ill., High School, under the direction of the Latin teacher, Miss Abby L. Ross, to combine these in a novel and very useful way. Almost a whole week was given over to a varied program aimed to interest not only students and parents but also eighth grade pupils. The regulation Latin Exhibit was held in the Latin room and the corridor all week. On Monday evening there was a public program, "Muses and Myths," based on an entertainment described in the *Classical Journal* for October, 1920, p. 59. Each muse gave an appropriate song or recitation. On Tuesday evening a Roman banquet was given. On Wednesday afternoon there was a program for the eighth grades, which strikes me as particularly good. Talks on the various values of Latin were made by six Latin students and an English teacher. The titles were not abstract but concrete and personal, e.g., "Why I am Glad I Took Latin," "How Latin Helps Me in Spanish." Five Latin songs gave variety to the program. On Thursday afternoon a Latin play, "Andromeda," was given.

Latin Composition

Professor F. H. Potter, of the University of Iowa, suggests the following method, long used by him and his former pupils:

Pictures can be used as suggestive material for original oral and written composition. For each picture a list of Latin words is made covering the things seen and suggested in it. With this vocabulary, which may be typewritten on a sheet of paper to be pasted on the back of the picture, the pupil is prepared to participate in an oral dialogue on the subject of the picture; or to supplement the formal and more systematic work of the composition book, the picture can be assigned for a carefully written dialogue or description or story suggested by it.

Suitable pictures in great variety can be cut from old magazines. The collections include landscapes, gardens, buildings, forests, lakes, schoolrooms, animals, people, foods, furniture, etc.

A collection of these pictures furnished with vocabularies will afford the basis for a half-hour of Latin conversation at the meetings of the Latin club. For example,

"Quid vides in hac pictura?"—"In hac pictura pueros video." "Quot pueros vides?" "Quid faciunt pueri?" etc.

Such pictures give occasion to use a vocabulary more closely related to the pupil's daily thought than the vocabulary of the formal reading of the traditional Latin course. The emphasis now placed on the relation of Latin to English makes this highly desirable and helps to overcome the sense of remoteness with which the pupil too often regards Latin.

This method puts the emphasis on forms and syntax, where it should be in composition. It also arouses interest because it gives the opportunity for free, individual composition. Such individual composition, analogous to that of the English class, is desirable when hedged in by such precautions as those mentioned. I remember visiting a Caesar class once in which the teacher, a really able and enthusiastic one too, had the students write compositions on any subject they pleased. She had them use Smith's English-Latin dictionary, the most complete available. The result was that they floundered in a vocabulary that was beyond their depth.

Questions and Answers

What foods should be served at a real Roman banquet?

Consult such books on Roman life as Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans*. For a description of a Roman banquet see the *Classical Journal*, I, pp. 201-03, XVII, p. 99. For one of Cato's recipes for cake see vol. X, p. 333.

Will you please send me the names of good translations of Caesar's, Cicero's, and Virgil's works and of places where I may secure them?

Ignoring the "literal" and "interlinear" translations, I mention the following: *Caesar's Gallic War*, translated by H. J. Edwards (with Latin text), in the Loeb Classical Library, New York, J. P. Putnam's Sons. *Cicero's Orations*, translated by Yonge, four volumes, in the Bohn series, London, G. Bell (a poor translation). The orations against Catiline may be found in a somewhat better translation by Herbert E. D. Blakiston, London, Methuen. *Virgil*, translated by H. R. Fairclough (with Latin text) in the Loeb Classical Library, New York, J. P. Putnam's Sons. *Virgil, The Aeneid*, translated into blank verse by Theodore C. Williams, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Book Reviews

Cicero: A Biography. By TORSTEN PETERSSON. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1920. 8vo., pp. 699.

The life of Cicero has furnished attractive material for modern biographers to a greater extent than that of any other of the characters of the Roman world in recent years, not excepting even his great contemporary, Caesar. Of the more important works on Cicero in English, there is Middleton's in two vols., 1741; Forsyth's in two vols., 1869; Trollope's in two vols., 1880; Strachan-Davidson's, 1894; Sihler's, 1914; and Taylor's, 1916. To these should be added Merivale's translation of Abeken's *Life and Letters of Cicero*, Jones's translation of Boissier's *Cicero and His Friends*, and also Froude's *Caesar* which deals in large measure with the life of Cicero. As an addition to these and to similar works in foreign languages the present volume has some just claims to recognition.

The author's point of view in the treatment of his subject is outlined in the following statement from his preface: "The purpose of this book is to give as comprehensive an account of Cicero as a single volume will permit. It endeavors to keep a proper proportion between his political activities and his accomplishments as an orator and a writer of essays and letters. It aims to present the Roman background, which alone can make the narrative intelligible to any but the special student; to determine and to make clear the Roman attitude toward a man's work in the world, the political atmosphere of Rome, the spirit in which the orators spoke, and the Roman view of rhetoric, philosophy, and authorship. Above all it will seek to give a narrative of Cicero's life as it unfolded from one period to another, and to convey a little of the spirit that animated him." These are extensive claims but Professor Petersson has for the most part lived up to them. A biography on so broad a basis should appeal not only to the special student but to the average reader as well.

A careful, first-hand study of all the ancient sources which can throw light on Cicero's career is evident throughout the book. Though there is not much concerning his private life as a whole and still less concerning his earlier life, we are told that "more is known about Cicero than about any other person of the ancient world." Cicero's own works, from which the author draws most, are divided as source material into three groups, the speeches, rhetoric and philosophy, and his correspondence. With a timely warning he calls attention to the brief period of time covered by all this material, to the fact that "half his correspondence belongs to the last four years of his life," and that though the orations extend over a longer period it is only after 63 B. C., when Cicero had obtained the consulship, that these orations contain much about himself. While he discusses with considerable detail the nature and content of the various works of Cicero, Professor Petersson gives very few actual quotations, differing in this respect from Strachan-Davidson. To maintain a high interest throughout these discussions would be well nigh impossible and there is in consequence a section through the

center of the book which will have less appeal to the general reader, but excepting these chapters the book makes very interesting reading.

The life of Cicero is of course inseparably bound up with Roman life and history as a whole, but the effort to present the proper Roman background seems a little overdone. The reader frequently finds it necessary to remind himself that he is reading a biography of Cicero and not a popular treatise on certain phases of Roman life. It is not that the matter treated has no connection, but that, instead of following everything to the end in its relation to Cicero, we follow to the end everything to which Cicero was related, frequently losing sight of the point of contact altogether. In this way various topics are met from ancient letter writing to a detailed study of Quintus Cicero's *Handbook of Electioneering*. All this is, in a way, a tribute to the interesting style in which the book is written, but more than that it shows the need for more sign posts as one is led off on the numerous by-paths,—a criticism which, however, is much less applicable to the latter half of the book. In his discussions of oratory and of Cicero's pleadings the author has failed to avail himself of certain ready explanations that would come from Greek parallels, for example the habit of opening a case with a justification of the speaker's part in it. He has a unique explanation of Cicero's attitude of mind in giving credit to the gods for the failure of the Catiline conspiracy, and in a similar way he enlarges upon Cicero's frame of mind toward all sorts of situations, even to the extent of following his reasoning in detail and of sometimes conjecturing what he might have done under a given situation.

Cicero himself has won Professor Petersson's hearty approval and admiration. In determining the professional standard involved, his point of view seems to be that a lawyer's sense of moral responsibility is indicated by his willingness or lack of willingness to defend one who is guilty,—that the criterion is "whether he had justice on his side" in the cases he tried. He apparently forgets for the moment, or ignores the fact that there is a well defined legal creed quite to the contrary, and he finds some fault with Cicero on that score. Yet he finally places him on a far higher moral level than the great majority of his contemporaries and decides that "his standard is very much what it would have been if he had pleaded in an ideal state of the Stoics, the most severe moralists of his time." Thus while he speaks of Cicero's faults with apparent frankness and does not fail to question his policies, admitting, for instance, that he was short sighted in his hope to unite the various factions in the reconstruction of the shattered republic, the question is more often raised only to justify Cicero in the end. His ability as a correspondent, his knowledge of law, his vision, and his wit are commended. His success is made much of, and his impartiality is given strong emphasis, with here and there a mention of his lack of greed and selfishness. His ability in maneuver, in pleading, and in swaying the people is ever at the front. The author likewise discusses Cicero's periods of hesitation and finds justification for them instead of evidence of the vacillation or moral cowardice of which he has so often been accused. There is no stronger statement of Cicero's vanity than "an outspoken claim to fame" which was quite in accord with the attitude of the time, or his "consciousness that he was the greatest Roman," a statement which in its very form constitutes a

justification. In another place he says, "Cicero had of course the confidence in his own powers that invariably accompanies genius, and he took delight in applause and praise that is equally inseparable from the ability to sway great multitudes. . . . He knew this and laughed about it with Atticus. But his so-called vanity went no further." In this general attitude Professor Petersson is at one with recent writers who have reacted against the attacks of Drumann and Mommsen.

The representation of Caesar is not so favorable. The author takes three quarters of a page to emphasize the danger of failing to take into account Cicero's contemporaries and the fact that a man must be judged by the standards of his time. Then he proceeds to defend the character of Cicero by drawing a picture of the cruelty of Caesar which does not at all take into account the standards of warfare of contemporary generals and peoples, and which is quite out of accord with what we know of Caesar's actions as a whole. He states in connection with the bill of Rullus—which he sees as really Caesar's—that excepting Cato, Cicero, and some lesser lights the vast majority of politicians were as reckless as Caesar. Yet his picture of Caesar up to the civil war is that of a crafty, selfish politician, using Pompey and Crassus as mere tools to further his own ends while seeming to help them. He speaks of Caesar's "ostensible service to Pompey, which very much resembled that of an intriguing minister to an old and short sighted master, whom he is preparing to overthrow." In the same way he makes Caesar actively, instead of passively, the cause of Cicero's exile, quite contrary to the usual opinion which is more nearly in agreement with the late Dr. W. Warde Fowler that "Caesar's part in it was simply a negative one." There is nothing in the text or in the bibliography to suggest that the author made use of any work on Caesar for this part of the biography. His opinion might have been modified if he had. However, a more sympathetic attitude toward Caesar's motives and actions develops in the account of the civil war.

Pompey, to whom by the way Professor Petersson does not credit any very high motives, "was always reaping where others had sowed," and "undoubtedly a great general, but his reputation was even greater." That he is pictured as a dupe of Caesar has already been mentioned. His lack of oratorical ability is emphasized, and he is made out to be rather a blunderhead in politics and statesmanship, though he is credited with having done as well in the civil war as he could under the circumstances.

Quintus Cicero is represented as not a great politician, but a good soldier, hot-tempered, but "rather submissive to his wife, and altogether he seems to have been an easy-going, lovable gentleman." Cato, Crassus, and others come in for their characterizations, and the characters Cicero uses in his dialogues are studied in some detail.

Despite details which seem open to question, the book as a whole shows sound scholarship and a broad familiarity with the facts connected with the life of Cicero, and is a valuable addition to the list of reference works for high school and college. The misprints are few and do not call for special attention. The printing and quality of paper are commendable, a fact worthy of mention in view of the traces of war time conditions which have persisted

in some publications. While the author has taken nothing for granted and has explained every allusion, he has not been so generous in his bibliography. Several works very commonly given in lists of reference are omitted from the selected list here given. There is an index, reasonably complete and quite well arranged.

VICTOR DWIGHT HILL

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The Foreigner in Hellenistic Comedy. By RAYMOND H. COON.
University of Chicago dissertation. George Banta Publishing Co., 1920. Pp. 87.

Professor Coon has collected in this monograph practically all the material bearing on the treatment of the foreigner (i.e. the non-Athenian) as a character in extant Roman Comedy and the fragments of Hellenistic Comedy. Most of the pertinent passages of Greek Tragedy are added. The matter is well organized. The occurrences of the foreigner first in Old Comedy and secondly in New Comedy are classified by nationality and their national traits are enumerated. The use made of national costumes and dialects is noted. Finally, a thorough study is made of the organic part played by foreigners in the plots of Roman Comedy. This enables the author to estimate the value of a celebrated piece of literary criticism that has come down to us under the name of Tzetzes. According to it Old Comedy was interested in attacks on citizens in high places but New Comedy was forced to refrain from such attacks and to confine itself to slaves, beggars, foreigners and barbarians. The author shows that the plots of Hellenistic Comedy demanded the introduction of foreigners, so that it was not so much political as dramatic necessity which accounts for the greater vogue of the foreigner in the later period.

The introduction very appropriately calls attention to some modern European dramas offering examples of satire at the expense of foreigners. Unfortunately it omits the best known of all such cases, scene II Act I of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. Some attempt is made in chapters II and III to estimate the truth of the attacks made on foreign or racial groups. This is always an elusive task even when it is possible to observe the groups directly. Nevertheless, independent evidence is adduced in many cases to show that others had the same opinions of various groups as were expressed in Comedy. In dealing with the Boeotians the author was able to avail himself of Rhys Roberts' critical estimate of an Athenian prejudice; with other peoples the attempt is less successful. Something of this sort might well have been done in connection with the study of the foreigner in Tragedy also. The author apparently underestimates the bearing which possible literary sources may have on this problem. He guards against the use of statements which might have been taken from the comedians but fails to collect and test adequately statements upon which the comedians may have drawn. For example (p. 63), Aristophanes' use of *τερπυγῶτες* to describe the speech of the Illyrians may well have been suggested by Herodotus's application of the same word to the Troglodyte Ethiopians in IV, 183. Herodotus

also is the probable source of the Sophoclean passage on the effeminacy of Egyptian men. (p. 17).

The whole work is carefully and accurately written. It abounds in spirited translations of Greek passages. In the absence of a collected bibliography it would have been helpful to include in the index the names of ancient and modern authors cited.

JOHN WILSON TAYLOR

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The Principles of Language Study. BY HAROLD E. PALMER.
Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., Pp. 186. \$2.40.

As the author is directly interested in methods of teaching and studying spoken languages, it would seem that his book would be of little interest to teachers of Latin and Greek. Nevertheless there is much in it that will repay such teachers, and perhaps especially teachers in the junior high schools. Mr. Palmer contrasts innate capacities for language-acquisition (those by which a child learns to speak his mother tongue) with "studial" capacities (those by which an adult acquires a new language or an artificial form of his own). He emphasizes the necessity of utilizing, for certain purposes, the former along with the latter, showing how the development of the studial powers tends to inhibit the spontaneous powers. From this standpoint, the cultivation of intelligence through the exercise of attention, precision, discrimination and similar qualities is an evil rather than a good, as we have been wont to consider it.

I can best indicate what positive and immediate values the book contains by quoting certain suggestive passages: "The principle of accuracy requires that the student shall have no opportunities for making mistakes until he has arrived at the stage at which accurate work is reasonably to be expected" (p. 22). Among the factors making for interest are "the elimination of bewilderment" (properly distinguished from difficulty) and "the sense of progress achieved" (p. 27). The value of these can not be easily exaggerated. In enumerating the faults of much elementary teaching he says that the student "will have formed the 'isolating' habit, which consists in learning the individual elements of a group instead of learning the group as it stands. . . . In other words, he will have formed the habit of word-learning and have neglected that of word-group-learning" (p. 71). Rapid growth in power to understand a language seems to require that the student shall learn as early as possible to think in larger units than single words. "The enriching of one's vocabulary should be left to a comparatively late stage in the study of language, especially in the study of most derivatives and compounds" (p. 155). This doctrine, which so vigorously contradicts our emphasis on the value of Latin for English, is of course held because the author is assuming as the main purpose of language-study the acquiring of the ability to speak, to write and to understand the language as a native would. The principle of the multiple line of approach means that the teacher may use different methods concurrently. "The cumulative effect of

approaching the difficulty from different and independent angles will certainly have the desired result" (p. 167).

The author finds nine essential principles of language-study that are psychologically sound: initial preparation; habit-forming; accuracy; gradation; proportion; concreteness; interest; order of progression; multiple line of approach.

Of greater interest to me personally than any of these details, however suggestive they may be, is the reflection that we as teachers of ancient languages have scarcely begun to analyze the principles that underly our work. Nor do we as a class have the psychological training needful for this task. We have been too busy trying to defend ourselves against the psychologists to have time to talk things over with them and find out how they can help us. Yet sooner or later we must lay aside this debate. We must join with them in a serious attempt to find out what our precise place is in the educational scheme and how we can best accomplish the mission that that disposition of forces gives us. It seems clear that classical study will not cease to be part of education; there is urgent need that students of the classics and of education and psychology cooperate in the determination of the principles that govern it. Mr. Palmer's volume, being concerned only with spoken languages, is suggestive only; if it can stimulate similar studies within our field it will be more valuable still.

EVAN T. SAGE

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Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

BROWNSON, CARLETON L. *Plato's Studies and Criticisms of the Poets.* Boston: Badger. Pp. 159. \$2.00.

CARPENTER, RHYS. *The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.* (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, I.) Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College. Pp. 263. \$1.50.

EURIPIDES. *Scenes from the Trojan War: passages from the Iphigenia in Aulis, Rhesus, and Trojan Women of Euripides, with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, edited by C. E. Freeman.* New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 96. \$1.35.

HEATH, SIR THOMAS. *A History of Greek Mathematics.* Vol. I: From Thales to Euclid. Vol. II: From Aristarchus to Diophantus. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xv+446; xi+586. 50s.

LIVY. *The History of Rome*, translated by Canon W. L. Roberts, in five volumes. Vol. IV. (Everyman's Library.) London: Dent. Pp. xiii+402. 2s. 6d.

LUCRETIVS. *Of the Nature of Things*, A metrical translation, by William Ellery Leonard (Everyman's Library). London: Dent. Pp. xvi+301. 2s. 6d.

NORWOOD, GILBERT. *Euripides and Shaw*, with other essays. London: Methuen. Pp. vii+226. 7s. 6d.

SANDYS, SIR JOHN EDWIN. *A Companion to Latin Studies*, edited by Sir John Edwin Sandys. Third edition. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. xxxv+891. 36s.

SCOTT, JOHN A. *The Unity of Homer.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press. Pp. 275. \$3.25.

URE, P. N. *The Greek Renaissance.* London: Methuen. Pp. viii+175. 6s.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS

The following statement of members by states recently sent in to us is encouraging. It shows that a vigorous campaign has been carried on, at least in many states, for membership increase. And yet we know that there is still altogether too large a number of Latin teachers who are "playing a lone hand," out of touch with both the personnel and the literature of their profession. It is estimated that there are 10,000 Latin teachers in the United States, less than half of whom are included in the combined membership of the four great classical associations of the country.

There is still abundant and urgent opportunity for missionary work, not alone by executive committees and state vice presidents, but by us all.

	Members Mar. 20, 1921	Members Dec. 8, 1921	Subscribers Dec. 8, 1921	Total Dec. 8, 1921
Alabama.....	24	27	3	30
Arkansas.....	23	32	2	34
Colorado.....	39	43	12	55
Florida.....	21	16	6	22
Georgia.....	35	43	3	36
Illinois.....	267	310	36	346
Indiana.....	133	198	32	230
Iowa.....	121	156	14	170
Kansas.....	99	122	15	137
Kentucky.....	50	51	14	65
Louisiana.....	23	27	3	30

	Members Mar. 20, 1921	Members Dec. 8, 1921	Subscribers Dec. 8, 1921	Total Dec. 8, 1921
Michigan.....	144	123	38	161
Minnesota.....	61	64	10	74
Mississippi.....	47	55	4	59
Missouri.....	77	105	18	123
Nebraska.....	44	56	12	68
New Mexico.....	5	4	1	5
North Carolina.....	29	39	7	46
North Dakota.....	19	17	3	20
Ohio.....	288	295	40	335
Oklahoma.....	32	29	12	41
South Carolina.....	24	28	4	32
South Dakota.....	21	21	5	26
Tennessee.....	57	79	6	85
Texas.....	121	128	29	157
Utah.....	9	8	0	8
Virginia.....	70	52	11	63
West Virginia.....	19	23	2	25
Wisconsin.....	92	98	17	115
Wyoming.....	5	10	3	13
	1999	2259	362	2621

THE NEXT ANNUAL MEETING

As has been advertised for some months past on the fourth cover page of the *Journal*, the next annual meeting of the Association will be held with the University of Wisconsin at Madison, April 13-15. The program of this meeting will be published editorially in the next (March) number. We urge all who can possibly attend this meeting to begin now to make their arrangements to do so. We hope especially that our members of the northwest section who have hitherto found themselves too far away from the annual meeting to attend will take advantage of this favorable opportunity to experience the undoubted inspiration which a personal attendance at an annual meeting gives. One may read the papers as they appear later from time to time in the *Journal*; but nothing can take the place of the personal touch and the chance to form and renew friendships which the annual meeting gives. Let us make the Madison meeting a record breaker for attendance. On to Wisconsin!

PLATO AS A WRITER OF IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS

BY MARION JEWETT AUSTIN
University of Illinois

To the student of literature, the term "Imaginary Conversations," as applied to dialogue writing, suggests the work of Walter Savage Landor, and of no other writer. This is partly due to the fact that Landor himself was firm in the opinion—and frank in the expression of it—that he had originated a new form of writing, in his imaginary conversations, as much differentiated from the ordinary dialogue as *vers libre* is differentiated from the heroic couplet. His admirers, as enthusiastic in their adoration as they are limited in their number, have devotedly fostered this impression until it requires no small amount of critical daring to affirm that Landor was not the creator of a literary form but rather the perfecter of an old, old type of dialogue, a type used to advantage by Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Lucian, Fenelon, Bishop Hurd, "Christopher North," and many others.

Such an assertion is the result of a comparison of Landor's work with other dialogue writing. It is admitted that Landor has named the form, by virtue of his position as master in the use of it, but a definition of imaginary conversations based upon his own dialogues covers many others which have never before been so termed. Dialogues in which the speakers are real but the conversation is fictitious are "imaginary conversations." A more restrictive definition would exclude writings which Landor himself has so labeled. Granting Landor's supremacy as an "imaginary conversationalist," it is the purpose of this study to show to what degree Plato also merits distinction in the use of the form.

The literature of the Greeks and Romans is crowded with dialogues of every kind, so that it is not to be wondered at that many can be found which fulfil the requirements of the imaginary conversation. Antiquity, however, offers no writer who, like Walter Savage Landor, composed imaginary conversations from purely artistic motives; hence it would be a little unfair to emphasize his superiority in the use of this form of literature over writers

who employed it as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. To pronounce Plato's wonderful *Phaedo* and *Symposium* and *Republic* inferior to Landor's *Dialogues of the Greeks and Romans*, simply because the former are narrated dialogues, would seem at first sight a grave injustice as well as an indication of a decided lack of literary discrimination. It would be all this and more if the comparison were extended to the contents and significance of the two groups, but this is a study of a certain literary form and if in the study unusual estimates such as the one stated above are introduced, it must be kept in mind that they are made with regard to relatively minor factors, more important considerations being sometimes deliberately overlooked for the scientific purpose of examining the use of this particular literary form.

It is sufficient proof of the great possibilities of the imaginary conversation that Plato should have employed it with more or less modifications in all his prose writings. There is room for disagreement concerning the classification of the Platonic dialogues as "imaginary conversations," but there need be no hesitation about attributing to Plato the impulse which led to the ultimate perfection of the form.¹ Ironically enough, Landor himself, angry as he would have become had the fact been called to his attention, owed much to this Greek whom he so strangely misjudged. Landor learned from Plato

many strokes of the craft of dialogue—the cunning overture, the power of keeping characters distinct, and of interveining an abstract discussion with beautiful or lively human touches, the use of allegory or idyll by way of interlude. For all this Landor must surely have studied the master to whom he is unfair.²

Plato's general purpose in writing his Socratic dialogues may be briefly stated as the desire to present in clear undogmatic fashion the philosophy of his teacher and the ideas which he himself had derived from this philosophy. A writer with less dramatic

¹ It is unnecessary, here, to trace the origin of the imaginary conversation back to the lost mimes of earlier times. A description of these writings and of Plato's indebtedness to them is to be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, VIII, "Dialogue," and in *Der Dialog, Ein Literaturhistorischer Versuch*, von Rudolf Hirzel, I (Leipzig, 1895), 20 ff.

² Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830*, II (London, 1913), 33.

genius probably would have executed the same purpose in treatise form, but Plato recognized that "thought with personality added to it, is a greater thing than thought alone."¹ Combined with the primary desire of raising men's thoughts to the heights to which his had been elevated by Socrates, other desires led to the writing of these dialogues, such as that of preserving for future generations the complex personality of Socrates, and that of exercising his own dramatic ability and literary sense.² It is the side of his work which is related to these subordinate desires which interests us here, rather than the philosophical side. Most students of Plato have been interested in the conversational phase of the dialogues only in so far as it affected the doctrines inculcated by them.³ In this study, however, the usual attitude will be quite reversed: the philosophical elements will concern us only as they influence the artistic, dramatic quality.

The classification and chronological arrangement of Plato's dialogues have caused endless perplexity to scholars; they still are and doubtless always will be moot questions. The usual

¹ Elizabeth Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (New York, 1911), p. 3.

² With regard to Plato's purpose in employing this literary form, Mahaffy writes: "We can perceive at least four distinct and important objects attained by adopting it. First, it was the best and most natural way of giving a full and lively history of the life, character, and conversations of his master Socrates, thus producing from another mind and from a different standpoint, a grander, if not so faithful a memoir of the inimitable master. Secondly, it exhibited most clearly the most Socratic and valuable point in Plato's philosophy—the principle of searching after truth, and of resting in this search as a great intellectual end, whether any conclusion was attainable or not; the raising and discussing of all the objections to, and difficulties in, any theory, could in no other way be brought so vividly before the student. Thirdly, it enabled Plato to put forth opinions tentatively, without assuming any responsibility, and of ventilating a new theory before adopting it as a dogma. . . . Lastly, we must not forget that Plato satisfied a keen dramatic and literary instinct by drawing these personal sketches. He gave rein to a satirical and critical spirit also" (Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, *A History of Classical Greek Literature*, II, "The Prose Writers" [New York, 1880] 172).

³ Even Jowett with all his keen appreciation of the literary value of Plato's philosophical writings, disparages the passages whose value is solely dramatic. "If," he writes, "we find in these writings, side by side with philosophic inquiry, a considerable space allotted to historical description and dramatic imagery, it is yet easy in some cases to separate these elements, in others to recognize the philosophic kernel which they themselves contain" (*The Dialogues of Plato*, translated into English with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett [New York edition], I, xlii).

classification according to subject-matter is a grouping into dialogues of search and dialogues of exposition, typical examples being the *Charmides* and the *Phaedrus*, respectively.¹ The only classification which Plato himself seems to have had in mind was a separation of the general inquiries into knowledge and understanding, from the specific inquiries into physics and ethics. He carefully avoids mingling to any great extent these two types of inquiry in the same dialogue.² Schleiermacher's division of the dialogues into three categories, according to the connected development of philosophical thought, was a convenient one and had the distinction of being the first complete and satisfactory classification upon this basis. Dr. Eduard Zeller, in his *Plato and the Older Academy*, treats the subject of the classification, chronology, and authenticity of the Platonic dialogues with great fulness and care, comparing the classifications of Schleiermacher, Ast, Socher, Stallbaum, Hermann, and more modern investigators of this question.³ He concludes his comparison thus:

. . . . None of the theories we have been considering can be rigidly carried out; the order of Platonic writings cannot depend wholly either on design and calculation to the exclusion of all influences arising from external circumstances and Plato's own development; or on the gradual growth of Plato's mind, to the exclusion of any ulterior plan; or, still less, on particular moods, occasions, and impulses⁴. . . . The main purpose . . . of the great majority of the dialogues, be their outer motive what it may, is the representation and establishment of the Platonic philosophy.⁵

Dr. Zeller then offers his own system of grouping, according to

¹ Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, II, 163-64, note.

² *Harper's Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 1274.

³ Dr. Eduard Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy*, pp. 99-109. Translated with the author's sanction from the German, by Sarah Frances Alleyne and Alfred Goodwin, London, 1888. Schleiermacher's classification may be taken to illustrate the general method of all these arrangements, which differ more in the grouping of the dialogues than in the bases of separation. In *Harper's Dictionary*, his three classes are described thus: "In the first he considers that the germs of dialectic and of the doctrine of ideas begin to unfold themselves in all the freshness of youthful inspiration; in the second, those germs develop themselves further by means of dialectic investigations respecting the difference between common and philosophical acquaintance with things, respecting motion and knowledge; in the third they receive their completion by means of an objectively scientific working out, with the separation of ethics and physics."

⁴ Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

this idea. These strictly philosophical arrangements concern our study very little; better adapted to our purposes would be a classification on a literary basis. The nearest approach to such a classification is the system by which the dialogues, as though they were dramas, are grouped into trilogies and tetralogies, according to similarity of theme or treatment.¹

Apparently the dialogues have never been grouped strictly according to structure or method of presenting the ideas, but since such a grouping would be the most consistent with this discussion of their conversational value, there is no reason why it may not be used. They fall naturally into two groups—narrated and direct dialogues. The former begin with a few speeches of direct dialogue, serving to introduce the main conversation, which is related by one of the speakers. The dialogues of this type are the *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Protagoras*, *Phaedo*, *Symposium*, *Euthydemus*, *Republic*, and *Parmenides*. Only a Plato could have employed this unwieldy form of *oratio obliqua* with the success which it attains in the *Symposium*, but even there one feels that it is an error in form, and that the dialogue could be read with more ease had the simpler method been used.² The advantage offered by this method of describing the speakers and the setting of the dialogue, or the incidents which brought it about, probably seemed to Plato to outweigh the inconveniences. Yet the narrative element seriously detracts from the value of the dialogues as imaginary conversations—a species of literature which has as its leading characteristics directness and a sense of reality. The fact that some of the narrated dialogues are more interesting and more spirited than some of those which lack this handicap does not lessen the truth of the criticism but does increase one's admiration of Plato's exceptional dramatic skill.

¹ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* uses a part literary, part philosophical classification, grouping the dialogues into eight series and explaining the relation in each case.

² *Harper's*, see "Dialogus." Mahaffy writes thus regarding the method of indirect narration: "This prolonged obliqueness of construction, with its crowded infinitives, always appears awkward, not to speak of the dramatic absurdity of making any man repeat from memory a set of speeches or an intricate dialogue. This absurdity is only artistically tolerable where the speaker reports a conversation in which he himself took a leading part as in the case with Socrates in the *Lysis*, *Charmides*, and *Protagoras*."

Another classification might be made on the basis of the relative historical and fictitious quality of the conversations. An imaginary conversation, we have decided, consists in the imagined speech of real people. There are many critics of Plato who would question our right to apply this term to his dialogues, maintaining that Socrates is an idealization, a mere name, not a real person at all, as Plato presents him;¹ there are just as many other critics who would argue that in Plato's dialogues we have the actual, not the imagined, conversation of real people.² But these are the extremes of critical attitude. May we not avoid entering too deeply into the controversy over the historical value of Plato's portrayal of Socrates, by taking a neutral position, admitting that here we have an actual incident, a remembered speech, or a genuinely noted-down bit of conversation, but there again we have a fancied happening, a speech based upon supposition and general impression, or a conversation that is consciously invented and attributed, because of truth to spirit, to actual personages? To be sure Plato was not troubled by Landor's abhorrence of using the historically recorded or remembered speeches of his characters.³

¹ This view is presented by A. E. Taylor in his *Plato* (New York), pp. 31-32: "If we would avoid serious errors, it is necessary always to remember that the personages of one of Plato's philosophical dialogues are one and all characters in a play. 'Protagoras' or 'Gorgias' in a Platonic dialogue, is not the historical Professor of that name, but a fictitious personage created by Plato as a representative of views and tendencies which he wishes to criticize. Mingled with traits drawn from the actual persons whose names these characters bear, we can often find in the picture others which can be known or suspected to belong to the writer's contemporaries. And the same is true, though the fact is commonly forgotten, of the protagonist of the drama, the Platonic 'Socrates.' 'Socrates' in Plato is neither, as some of the older and more uncritical expositors used to assume, the historical Socrates, nor, as is too often taken for granted today, the historical Plato, but the hero of the Platonic drama."

² John Burnet, in his *Plato's Phaedo* (Oxford, 1911), takes this attitude, especially toward the *Phaedo*: ". . . I cannot bring myself to believe that he (Plato) falsified the story of his master's last hours upon earth by using him as a mere mouthpiece for novel doctrines of his own. That would have been an offense against good taste and an outrage on all natural piety; for if Plato did this thing he must have done it deliberately. There can be no question here of unconscious development; he must have known quite well whether Socrates held these doctrines or not. I confess that I should regard the *Phaedo* as little better than a heartless mystification if half the things commonly believed about it were true" (Introduction, p. xii). *

³ Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 118. "He (Landor) said of this method (of imaginary conversations) that he never put in the mouths of this speakers any words they had

Plato employs not only real but often contemporary characters so that it is no more than reasonable to expect to find much that is not imagined in his dialogues, especially since the production of imaginary conversations, as such, had no part in his conscious purpose. Doubtless at first his intention was to be as exact in reproducing actual conversations as possible, but as his ideas became more clearly formulated and as he began to extend the application of Socrates' principles to realms of thought hitherto unexplored, instead of dropping the old method of Socratic conversation, he merely imagined what Socrates would have said upon these new subjects, could he have lived to think them out. Herein we have the very essence of the imaginary conversation. Finally, however, he had so far transgressed the bounds of Socratic reasoning that the device of putting his own words into the mouth of Socrates became an unnatural one; consequently, in the later dialogues Socrates is little more than a name, or at the most an idealization. A division upon this basis seems the one best suited to the study of the Platonic dialogues as imaginary conversations, and is in no way inconsistent with the philosophical divisions of Schleiermacher and other scholars.

Having discussed the dialogues in general as to purpose and classification, it now remains to examine them more specifically with regard to their dramatic value.¹ When reading Plato's dialogues as imaginary conversations, the feature that attracts

actually spoken—only such as they might have spoken. Furthermore, he avoided placing them in the situations in which they had actually figured in life. He chose rather to live into their personalities until he could know what they would say and do under any imagined circumstances, and then to represent them in such new situations. His aim was, then, to attain psychological rather than historical accuracy. Moreover, he tried to represent his speakers, not in the one light in which they are wont to be seen as historical personages, but also as complex human beings."

¹ A systematic analysis of the dramatic qualities of each individual dialogue would be of value at this point, but it is omitted partly because of lack of space and partly because Hirzel's discussions and Jowett's analyses are so complete as to include even some treatment of the dramatic phase of the dialogues. The latter's comparisons of the various dialogue devices employed by Plato, his ideas regarding the relation of history and fiction in the Platonic dialogues, and his manner of tracing the blend of philosophic and dramatic inspiration, could scarcely be improved upon. The purpose of the following brief and admittedly inadequate discussion is merely to emphasize and illustrate a few of the most salient traits in the dramatic work of Plato.

one's attention most forcibly is the way in which the prevailing spirit of a dialogue suits its subject-matter, the way in which Plato has put real art into his philosophical writings. A distinctive note is given to each dialogue—the pervading sense of youth and beauty in *Lysis*, the simplicity and poetic style of *Charmides*, the vigor and marked dramatic force of *Laches*, the clever argumentative spirit of *Protagoras*, the serene spiritual beauty of *Phaedo* combined with a sense of impending tragedy, the ironical mirth of *Euthydemus*, the dignified mature thoughtfulness of *Phaedrus*—so one might continue throughout the list, for in almost every dialogue the dramatic genius of Plato has created a definite mood which breathes life into the speakers and gives sound and expression to their words.

In spite of the profound philosophical thought underlying the conversations, Plato generally makes them sound natural and characteristic of the speakers. With indefatigable patience he reproduces the almost endless Socratic questionings by which the great master was wont to lead the ignorant into the mazes of metaphysics. Perhaps the best example of this type of conversation is the lengthy interchange of brief leading questions and monosyllabic answers by Socrates and a slave boy in *Meno*, whereby the latter is brought to an understanding of geometrical figures. Since this passage is far too long to quote, I have selected a group of speeches from *Charmides* which, in spite of its being indirect dialogue, will illustrate this same method in a comparatively short space, considering that length is one of the leading characteristics of this type of conversation:

Socrates has asked the youth to define temperance.—At first he hesitated, and was very unwilling to answer: then he said that he thought temperance was doing things orderly and quietly, such things for instance as walking in the streets, and talking, or anything else of that nature. "In a word," he said, "I should answer that in my opinion, temperance is quietness."

"Are you right, Charmides?" I said. "No doubt the opinion is held that the quiet are the temperate; but let us see whether they are right who say this; and first tell me whether you would not acknowledge temperance to be of the class of the honorable and good?"

"Yes."

"But which is best when you are at the writing-master's, to write the same letters quickly or quietly?"

"Quickly."

"And to read quickly or slowly?"

"Quickly again."

"And in playing the lyre, or wrestling, quickness or cleverness are far better than quietness and slowness?"

"Yes."

"And the same holds in boxing and the pancratium?"

"Certainly."

"And in leaping and running, and in bodily exercises generally, quickness and agility are good; slowness and inactivity and quietness are bad?"

"That is evident."

"Then," I said, "in all bodily actions, not quietness, but the greatest agility and quickness, is the noblest and best?"

"Yes, certainly."

"And is temperance a good?"

"Yes."

"Then, in reference to the body, not quietness, but quickness will be the higher degree of temperance, if temperance is a good?"

"True," he said.

"And which," I said, "is better—facility in learning or difficulty in learning?"

"Facility."

"Yes," I said, "and facility in learning is learning quickly, and difficulty in learning is learning quietly and slowly?"

"True."

"And is it not better to teach one another quickly and energetically, rather than quietly and slowly?"

"Yes."

"And is not shrewdness a quickness or cleverness of the soul, and not a quietness?"

"True."

"And is it not best to understand what is said, whether at the writing-master's or the music-master's, or anywhere else, not as quietly as possible, but as quickly as possible?"

"Yes."

"And when the soul inquires, and in deliberations, not the quietest as I imagine, and he who with difficulty deliberates and discovers, is thought worthy of praise, but he who does this most easily and quickly?"

"That is true," he said.

"And in all that concerns either body or soul, swiftness and activity are clearly better than slowness and quietness?"

"That," he said, "is the inference."

"Then temperance is not quietness, nor is the temperate life quiet, upon this view; for the life which is temperate is supposed to be the good. And of

two things, one is true,—either never or very seldom do the quiet actions of life appear to be better than the quick and energetic ones: still, even if we admit this, temperance will not be acting quietly any more than acting quickly and vehemently, either in walking, talking, or anything else; nor will the quiet life be more temperate than the unquiet, seeing that temperance is reckoned by us in the class of good and honorable, and the quick have been shown to be as good as the quiet."

"I think," he said, "Socrates, that you are right in saying that."

In a passage such as this, Plato has shown us not only Socrates' method but the man himself—at least in one aspect of his many-sided nature—the searching, thorough, but very queer, instructor of youth. The following realistic bit of conversation from the *Protagoras* shows Socrates in a different mood and illustrates Plato's skill in contracting characters. The amiable but ostentatious and prolix Protagoras is the very antithesis of terse ironical Socrates.

Socrates speaks: "Protagoras, I have a wretched memory, and when anyone makes a long speech to me I never remember what he is talking about. As then, if I have been deaf, and you were going to converse with me, you would have had to raise your voice; so now, having such a bad memory, I will ask you to cut your answers short, if you would take me with you."

"What do you mean?" he said. "How am I to shorten my answers? Shall I make them too short?"

"Certainly not," I said.

"But short enough?" he said.

"Yes," I said.

"Shall I answer what appears to me to be short enough, or what appears to you to be short enough?"

"I have heard," I said, "that you can speak and teach others to speak about the same things at such length that words never seemed to fail, or with such brevity that no one could use fewer of them. Please therefore, if you talk with me, to adopt the latter or more compendious method."

"Socrates," he replied, "many a battle of words have I fought, and if I had followed the method of disputation which my adversaries desired, as you want me to do, I should have been no better than another, and the name of Protagoras would have been nowhere."

A fine example of dramatic force combined with the utmost simplicity is offered by *Crito*, in which Socrates' aged friend visits

¹ *The Dialogues of Plato*, translated with Analyses and Introductions by B. Jowett (Edition de Luxe), IV, 15.

² Jowett, *op. cit.*, IV, 170.

him in prison. The beginning is dramatic by reason of its very quietness and naturalness:

Socrates: Why have you come at this hour, Crito? It must be quite early?

Crito: Yes, certainly.

Socrates: What is the exact time?

Crito: The dawn is breaking.

Soc.: I wonder that the keeper of the prison would let you in.

Cr.: He knows me because I often come, Socrates; moreover, I have done him a kindness.

Soc.: And are you only just come?

Cr.: No, I came some time ago.

Soc.: Then why did you sit and say nothing, instead of awakening me at once?

Cr.: Why, indeed, Socrates, I myself would rather not have all this sleeplessness and sorrow. But I have been wondering at your peaceful slumbers, and that was the reason why I did not awaken you, because I wanted you to be out of pain. I have always thought you happy in the calmness of your temperament; but never did I see the like of the easy, cheerful way in which you bear this calamity.

Soc.: Why, Crito, when a man has reached my age he ought not to be repining at the prospect of death.¹

Socrates is not the only character who is made real to us in Plato's dialogues. In a few brief speeches a minor character is often revealed with surprising distinctness. How clearly the following passage makes manifest the sophistic egoism of Euthyphro!

Socrates: Good heavens, Euthyphro! and have you such a precise knowledge of piety and impiety, and of divine things in general, that, supposing the circumstances to be as you state, you are not afraid that you may be doing an impious thing in bringing an action against your father?

Euthyphro: The best of Euthyphro, and that which distinguishes him, Socrates, from other men, is his exact knowledge of all these matters. What should I be good for without that?

Socrates: Rare friend! I think that I cannot do better than be your disciple, before the trial with Meletus comes on.²

The characteristic tone of the Greek rhapsody is caught to perfection in these speeches from *Ion*:

Socrates has just suggested to Ion that he praises Homer not by art but by divine inspiration.

¹ Jowett, III, 137.

² *Ibid.*, III, 59.

Ion: That is good, Socrates; and yet I doubt whether you will have eloquence to persuade me that I praise Homer only when I am mad and possessed, and if you could hear me speak I am sure that you would never think that.

Soc.: I should like very much to hear you read, but not until you have answered a question which I have to ask. On what part of Homer do you speak well?—not surely about every part?

Ion: There is no part, Socrates, about which I do not speak well, of that I can assure you.

Soc.: Surely not about things in Homer of which you have no knowledge?

Ion: And what is there of which Homer speaks of which I have no knowledge?¹

As one reads a dialogue of Plato, one's mind often wanders far from the printed page; indeed, this happens so frequently that there is created a feeling of difficulty in concentrating the attention on the dialogues, which inclines one to criticize Plato for inability to retain his readers' thoughts, until suddenly it dawns upon one with startling illumination that in this very characteristic lies Plato's greatest art. The remarkable power of provoking individual thought is the element of the Platonic dialogues in which they excel all other imaginary conversations.² The contrasting of characters also is a notable feature of the work. In most cases the contrast is made between Socrates and those with whom he speaks. This device is used to excellent advantage when the clear-thinking ironical Socrates converses with men representative

¹ Jowett, IV, 277.

² All critics, I find, do not agree with me in giving so favorable an interpretation to the mind-wandering tendency induced by reading Plato. Among these is Mahaffy, who declares it to be an undoubted fact "that this great author is far more talked about and lauded to the skies, than honestly read, and that even diligent scholars find it a task to read a dialogue of Plato honestly through. Very often the questions and answers are minute and trivial, containing no further interest than the persistent assertion of the importance of the search after truths as such. Often, again, the points made by Socrates are sophistical and unsound, and we feel annoyed that Plato will not let the respondent give him the true and embarrassing reply. . . . Even all the literary skill and nameless charm of Plato's style cannot conceal from us the fact that his dialogues are tedious in the minuteness and elaboration of their conversations. This will be admitted by any candid reader of Plato who does not belong to the scholastic trade-union which thinks that all great Greeks are to be lauded as perfect, and that even the mildest detraction is to be set down as want of taste, or want of real appreciation or of sympathy for the classics. Verily the merits of such an author as Plato do not need to be supported by a suppression of his weaker points." Jowett, however, says nothing to contradict my statement; he remarks that "the dialogues themselves manifest beyond possibility of mistake the design of compelling the reader, by their peculiar form, to the independent origination of thoughts" (I, iv).

of distinct types, such as the easily cornered Protagoras, the conceited enthusiastic Ion, or ingenuous youths like Charmides, Lysis, or Menexenus. It is one of the marks of his genius that every character in the dialogues is a distinct personality, no two having precisely the same attitude or type of mind.¹ Nor has Plato failed to give us, in the dialogues taken as a whole, a vivid impression of the many-sided Greek life of his own day and of an earlier day as well. So imperceptibly is this impression fostered that the reader is often quite unconscious of its influence.²

It is difficult to summarize, in a sentence or two, Plato's contribution to the development of the imaginary conversation, for, as Hirzel suggests,³ in the range of his dialogues—from the highly realistic conversations whose aim is the lifting of the Silenus mask from Socrates' personality, to the profound discussions in which the dramatic form is crushed under the burden of the thoughts—we can find this literary form used for every possible purpose. Plato was blessed with not only profound intellectual development but also artistic gifts of a high order, a combination that is essential to the realization of all the possibilities of the imaginary conversation. Had Plato extended the scope of his character delineations as widely as did Landor, that is, had he gone outside the Socratic circle, and had he placed the dramatic interest foremost rather than making it secondary to the philosophic, undoubtedly, because of his superior genius, he would have far excelled Landor. As it is, however, we must accord to Landor a higher place as a writer of imaginary conversations; hundreds of men and women talk to us from his pages, as opposed to the score or more whom Plato causes to speak.

¹ Jowett, *op. cit.*, I, 18.

² Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv. "We must note certain positive features which show that Plato was not only a realist in his character-drawing but also had a strong sense of historical perspective and a genuine feeling for historical values.—Like the great dramatist he was, Plato has transported himself back to the age of Pericles and the age of Alcibiades, and portrayed them as they seemed to the men who lived in them, not as they must have appeared to his contemporaries and to himself, when the glamour of the great time had passed away. . . . It seems to me that the reason why Plato's power of transporting himself back to an earlier time has been met with such scant recognition is just the success with which he has done it. As we read him, we hardly realize that he is calling up a time which was passing away when he himself was a boy."

³ Hirzel, *op. cit.*, I, 175.

CICERONIAN AFTERTHOUGHTS

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Among the minor tragedies of existence there is one that occurs sooner or later to every one of us. Today I read a paper or I respond to a toast or I engage in a debate; tomorrow there will inevitably come to my mind the decisive argument, the brilliant epigram, the crushing retort that would have made my feeble effort a complete success if I had thought of it in time. But if I be well advised, having made my speech today, I shall wait until tomorrow's inspirations have arrived before I write it out, I shall incorporate them in my manuscript, and posterity will never know the difference. I have sometimes wondered how much of Cicero's success in his various altercations was due to the fact that he had in this way the last word.

I am concerned today with a similar problem, though on a somewhat larger scale. In a recent paper¹ I called attention to a discrepancy between Cicero's conduct in a certain particular and his later descriptions of that conduct, and suggested an explanation. Now I wish to add some further examples of the same kind, and to elaborate the explanation.

Few things in Cicero's life have been so much discussed, and with such different results, as his political position before his election to the consulship. I shall not go into the details of the debate, because almost universally one fault has been committed: students have failed to see that an analysis that would be true of one period of Cicero's life may not apply at all to another time, while the evidence drawn from one group of Cicero's works may contradict that derived from another. Scholars have been altogether too much inclined to draw their conclusions from evidence of one kind or from one time. We are accustomed to think that the letters afford the best testimony to Cicero's real opinions, but for this purpose they fail us, as there are few letters of earlier date than the consular campaign, and letters of a later

¹ The Senatus Consultum Ultimum, C. W. XIII, 185 ff.

date can not be trusted. Tyrrell and Purser (Correspondence of Cicero, I^o 8 ff.), in their attempt to prove that Cicero "never coquetted with democracy" refer to his warning (*Cluent.* 139) against taking as real expressions of opinion his statements in his legal orations, and therefore conclude that there is nothing to be inferred from the fact that he attacked Verres and defended Roscius and Cornelius and thought of defending Catiline. But Cicero's warning against accepting his public utterances occurs in a public utterance, and therefore impeaches itself. I am however willing to balance, for the present, the prosecution of Verres and the defence of Fonteius, the attacks on Catiline and the defence of Sulla and Caelius. There still remains, however, a substantial body of evidence indicating that before the consular campaign of 64 B.C. Cicero belonged to the democratic party. This evidence, briefly stated, is as follows: (1) In the letter in which he speaks of defending Catiline (*Att.* I.2.1) he calls Catiline his *competitor* and the use of the word shows that the orator was thinking of politics and the practical advantage of having Catiline under obligations, i.e., of making political capital out of the trial. (2) Cicero was an eques, and the traditional policy of that order, since the time of C. Gracchus, had been anti-senatorial. It would have been natural for Cicero to follow that policy in his younger days. (3) Cicero's youthful enthusiasm for his fellow-townsmen Marius, expressed later also in his poem on the great democrat, suggests the same thing. (4) His support of the Manilian Law was doubtless intended, though he denies it, to make him co-heir with Pompey of the popular favor. (5) As late at least as 65 B.C. Cicero himself expected that the senatorial party would oppose his candidacy (*Att.* I.2.2). (6) The author of the *Commentariolum Petitionis* (4.14 and elsewhere) is sure that the nobles will be cold toward Cicero, partly on account of his overtures to Pompey and partly on account of his *novitas*, and recommends that Cicero use every means to overcome this prejudice. If this is a genuine work of Q. Cicero, as many scholars believe (Tyrrell and Purser among them), its evidence is practically conclusive; if not, its value will depend on the date and the authorship of the work. An examination

of these questions is impossible here. (7) Sallust (*Cat.* 23) says that the senators were not well-disposed toward Cicero, but finally came to support him as the best of a poor lot of candidates, to beat Catiline, though they thought that the consulship would be polluted by the election of a *novus homo*. These facts, converging as they do, seem to me to establish the conclusion that down to his consulship Cicero was generally regarded as a member of the democratic party. Of course this general opinion may have been wrong, but their opportunities for observation were better than ours, and we may accept their conclusion. Cicero was of course a moderate by temperament and training. In later times we hear much of his admiration for the aristocratic state of Scipio and Laelius, but we must not date back that feeling. In the light of the evidence I have assembled it seems more likely that there is after all some political significance in his legal speeches, but this can not be pressed too far. (These speeches are considered in their political bearing by Heinze, *Ciceros Politische Anfänge*, in *Abh. d. kgl. sächs. Ges.* XXVII. 947 ff., but with a different result. Heinze's conclusions have not been universally accepted.)

It is certain that from his inauguration on Cicero acted as the champion and spokesman of the senatorial party. As such he promises to restore the senatorial supremacy, and as such he functions in the debate over the agrarian measures of Rullus, in the trials of Rabirius and Murena, and in the conspiracy of Catiline. There may be a reflection of criticism in Cicero's harping in the earlier speeches of the year on such phrases as *consul vere popularis*, with which he tries to make himself and others believe that there had been no change in his status.

If my account of Cicero's political career be correct, we must ask how Cicero could say to himself, as he does in his poem *de consulatu suo* (quoted as an argument against his joining what later was known as the first triumvirate, in *Att.* II.3.3):

Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque petisti,
Hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum.

Such a claim appears to contradict all the evidence I have cited

regarding Cicero's political affiliations, and therefore needs explanation. It should be said that few scholars have used this bit of rhetoric as serious argument, but as a psychological if not a political problem it is interesting, and as such I wish to consider it. I have no desire to repeat the strictures of Dio, Mommsen, and others, that Cicero had no political principles. He did have them, and they were genuine and real, but they were not always the same. Yet here Cicero claims that he had never wavered in his allegiance to the *boni*. Conceivably Cicero means by *boni* merely conservatives, but its use as a political technical term is so general that, especially in this context, there is no reason to take it otherwise. I differ from most scholars who recognize a change in Cicero's political position in attributing to him no inconsistency or insincerity, and shall later attempt to justify my opinion. A somewhat similar situation may be seen in his explanation of his allegiance to Pompey and Caesar in a speech of 54 B.C. (*Planc.* 93), where he says that Caesar is applauded by the senate *cui me semper addixi*. In both cases, I believe that Cicero was perfectly sincere, and that he believed that he was telling the exact truth about himself. Sometimes he must have realized, or have been made to remember, that the evidence contradicted his professions, and this realization, plus the recent convert's missionary zeal, may explain the unnecessary brutality with which he treats plebeian and democratic leaders in his rhetorical and philosophical works, where political censure was out of place. (Among many such passages I may refer to *de off.* II.43; *de sen.* 11; *Brut.* 103; *de or.* I.38; *Tusc.* V.55. A complete collection of such passages will reveal some interesting things.) How easily Cicero could make himself believe what he wanted to believe may be seen in his claims that he went into exile not from any fear of Clodius but to avert the destruction of his country (*post red. in sen.* II.3; *de domo sua* 96; etc.), and these claims, contradicted though they are by his private letters, seemed true to him as they were made. How highly developed was this power may be seen from the remark which he made to Atticus after his return: "cognoram enim, ut vere scribam, te in consiliis mihi dandis nec

fortiorem nec prudentiorem quam me ipsum" (*Att.* IV.1.1), and perhaps frankness here as elsewhere verges on insult.

Before passing on, I wish to repeat my statement that I charge Cicero with no inconsistency or insincerity. The sincerity of his later belief in an aristocratic, if not an oligarchic, state may be seen not only in the pictures of the ideal commonwealth which he paints in the *de republica* and elsewhere, but concretely in his choice of members of the Scipionic circle as interlocutors in his political dialogues, in his debate whether the tribunate had really been a good thing for Rome (*de legg.* III. 19 ff.), in the longing for the past seen in the *Somnium Scipionis* and elsewhere, and in his proposal to Pompey for an alliance between them after the fashion of Laelius and Scipio (*Fam.* V.7.3). Zielinski (Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte² 5 ff. and elsewhere) maintains that Cicero derived his political ideas from the circle of Scipio, and for a later period this is true, but hardly for his earlier years, though as Heinze well points out (*op. cit.* 949), the ideal of patriotism may well have been transmitted thus to Cicero through Scaevola.

A somewhat similar change may be seen in his relation with the Atticists. Cicero himself admits that his style in youth had been excessively redundant and strained, though he hastens to add that his sojourn in Rhodes had cured him entirely of those faults (*Brut.* 316). This was evidently not admitted by everyone: Quintilian (XII.10.12 ff.) says that even some of Cicero's contemporaries dared to say that he was "unduly turgid, Asiatic, redundant, too much given to repetition and frigid witticism, feeble, diffuse and even effeminate," and Tacitus (*Dial.* 18) quotes similar criticisms originating with Brutus and Calvus, and therefore orthodox Atticist doctrine. Cicero himself feared that Atticus, influenced by his own name, would prefer for one purpose a more "Attic" style than that of Cicero (*Att.* XV.1 b.2). Cicero sometimes thinks of himself as belonging to the Rhodian school, which represents a reaction from the extreme Asianism, with Hyperides as chief model (Sandys, *Orator*, xliii). But nevertheless he approves many of the distinctive features of the Asiatic style; so, for instance, he says that the Asiatic orators are "non

contemnendi quidem, nec celeritate nec copia, sed parum pressi et nimis redundantes" (*Brut.* 51), and Hierocles and Meneclæ are "minime contemnendi; etsi enim a forma veritatis et ab Atticorum regula absunt, tamen hoc vitium compensant vel facultate vel copia" (*Orator* 231), and Cicero once complimented his rival Hortensius on the possession of these same qualities (*Quinct.* 8). It is obvious that Cicero regarded *copia* as the indispensable qualification of an orator, and was proud of his own powers in that direction (*Att.* XII.52.3). The standard by which Cicero is judging the Asiatic orators is of course Atticism, but he is clearly very charitable toward the qualities he mentions. Whatever his feeling toward Atticism, jeers at contemporary Atticists (Cicero would have called them pseudo-Atticists) are common. Thus he speaks of their inability to hold an audience and of their ignorance of what Atticism really means (*Brut.* 289; *Tusc.* II.3 and see below).

Despite this friendly attitude, theoretical and practical, toward Asianism, despite the admission of a youthful tendency toward the Asiatic style, we find Cicero in later life maintaining that he was, and apparently that he always had been, an Atticist. This enables him to turn the tables on his critics by showing that what they claimed, he had, and that what they had was merely a spurious imitation of the genuine. The process by which he arrives at this result is briefly this: *bene dicere* and *Attice dicere* may be regarded as synonyms. As Demosthenes is the greatest of the Attic orators, Atticism, says Cicero (*de opt. gen. or.* 13) is the imitation of Demosthenes. Oratorical greatness consists in the mastery of all of the three styles (*Orator* 101). Lysias and presumably his Roman imitators could use only the plain; Demosthenes could command them all, but the illustration that follows is taken not from the orations of Demosthenes but from those of Cicero himself. Cicero's claim is therefore that he is genuinely and in the best sense of the term an Atticist, and we may believe that the claim was sincerely made. When he was writing these essays (the purpose of the *de oratore* being debated, I have left it out of account), his career as an orator must have seemed to have come to an end, and once more his profession in

the present seems not to coincide with his practice in the past. Shall we say that Cicero was trying to mislead or to put the burden of proof on his Atticist critics by making them justify their claims to the possession of Atticism? The latter seems more nearly true. The later rhetorical works are of course partly controversial in character, but they display not only a defensive strategy, but also an offensive, in the claim that the real Atticism was that of Cicero, and not that of Brutus and Calvus. This is of course a quibble, but it seems clear that Cicero thought of himself as an Atticist, despite the evidence and the general belief to the contrary.

I am now ready to offer my explanation of the psychological phenomena I have been describing. Cicero had the kind of mind that not only permitted him but compelled him to believe what he wanted to believe. I repeat that this is no evidence of inconsistency, insincerity or instability of character. I see no sign of these qualities in his claim that he had followed the conservative path *prima a parte iuventutis*. Cicero always saw things in their relation to himself. Whatever was most comfortable or convenient for him to believe was for the time being the truth, and this faculty seems to me to explain many of the apparent inconsistencies with which Cicero is charged. He could make himself believe that he had done what he later came to wish that he had done, and could base his subsequent conduct on that imagined behavior.

We are all familiar with Cicero's sensitiveness and his dependence on an atmosphere of pleasantness and approval. A student of physiognomy might easily find signs of this in his features. Equally familiar is his tendency to magnify that which was his and to depreciate that which was another's. It was then natural that he should wish and try to create this atmosphere of approval. He began, equally naturally, with himself, and thanks to his gift of accepting the second thought as his first, he had little difficulty in convincing himself that he was right. But his consciousness that there were other opinions, and his desire that other people should agree with him, would make him insist all the more upon the perfect reasonableness of his own position. The

very insistence would strengthen him in his opinion, until finally there was no room left for doubt. So often, for example, did he proclaim to himself, and perhaps to others, his loyalty to the conservative cause that he made himself at least believe that he had never had any other opinion. *Vires acquirit eundo* might be said of more things than rumor. The process I have described was an unconscious one. I see no attempt or desire to deceive any one or to falsify the record. If there is any deception, it was of himself, but innocently and unconsciously accomplished. The ability to hypnotize one's self may be a weakness, but it is no crime. Perhaps Caesar could not have done it, but we are dealing with another person and another type of mind and imagination, and part of the charm of Cicero is the fact that he is Cicero. It is natural enough to grow more conservative with increasing age, and it is equally natural to fail to recognize the change and to refuse to admit it. With all his self-consciousness and vanity, Cicero is natural.

Daudet tells us that in southern France the sun has a peculiar property. Not only can it magnify things that really exist, making a little bush into a mighty tree, but it can even render visible things that have no existence at all. In illustration he cites the case of a Provençal who was awaiting a consular appointment in interior China. He would tell his friends how the Tartars would come down on his post, and how then he would run up the consular flag and then bang! bang! out of the windows upon the Tartars! As he told the story over and over, each time with greater vividness and minuteness of detail, insensibly a transformation in his narrative occurred, until finally he told not how he would do these things, but how he had done them, despite the fact that he had never set foot outside his native land! Far be it from me to suggest that this amiable and imaginative gentleman was a liar. The simple fact is that the combination of temperament and environment was too strong for him, converting future tenses into past, and making him believe that he had done what he wished he had done. So too with Cicero, the combination of temperament and environment made Cicero believe that it was the senate and not the consul that executed Catiline's associates;

that he had always been a true Atticist; that he had always been devoted to the cause of the senate; and that he had gone into exile not from personal fear but to save the state. These claims, unwarranted as they may seem to less interested observers, were frank and genuine expressions of Cicero's opinion. He had the kind of mind that compelled him to think and say that he had done what he later came to wish that he had done, to accept his second thought as his first thought, and his afterthought as the only thought that he had ever had.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CLASSICAL INVESTIGATION: STUDIES IN CONTENT

BY W. L. CARR, MASON D. GRAY, W. V. McDUFFEE, ANDREW F. WEST

The Classical Investigation now being conducted by the American Classical League with the support of the General Education Board has developed very rapidly since the original announcement in the October number of the *Classical Journal*. Its ramifications have become so numerous and the number of collaborators so extensive that it is impossible in the present article to do justice to all of its phases. Accordingly this survey will be limited to a description of the content studies now under way in connection with the investigation.

It will be recalled that in the Preliminary Report the question is raised in connection with each objective, "What measures should be taken as to content, method and preparation of teachers to secure a better attainment of that particular objective?" It has been obvious from the beginning that without waiting for the completion and analysis of the tests to furnish evidence there were certain content studies and inquiries needed to supply the basis for a more scientific attack upon some of the objectives and thus provide the data necessary to enable teachers or textbook writers to emphasize those particular objectives which seem especially desirable for the various school communities. In pursuance of that purpose content studies are now in progress relating to the vocabulary, syntax and inflections to be taught and the authors to be read.

One of the content studies is being conducted by Dr. E. L. Thorndike of the Teachers' College, Columbia University. Its purpose is to determine what Latin vocabulary is most important for the purpose of interpreting the largest number of English words derived from Latin, both those that are presumably familiar to the pupils at the point where the study of Latin is begun, and those that are unfamiliar. The only scientific way of determining this is by a word count analogous to that conducted by Dr. Lodge on the relative value of Latin words on the basis of fre-

quency of occurrence in the Latin authors read. The German "Thesaurus" represents another very ambitious project of this type. With the cooperation of Dr. Thorndike the committee hopes to determine the 25,000 words most important in the English language by means of a word count based upon *Encyclopedia Britannica* and contemporary books and magazines. The problem will involve the counting of the occurrences in about three million running words.

The work is organized in such a way that each collaborator has fifteen installments to analyze, each requiring about two hours work. About two hundred teachers are now engaged in this enterprise. Dr. A. S. Perkins, of the Dorchester High School, Boston, Dr. Arthur W. Howes of the Central High School, Philadelphia, and Dr. Clyde R. Jeffords of the Newton High School, New York City, are the representatives of the committee in organizing this enterprise. With the exception of one group located in Kansas City and a few individual teachers in different parts of the country the collaborators all reside within a short distance of New York City. New York City is undertaking to furnish a quota of 100, Philadelphia of 60, Boston of 40, and New York State outside of New York City 50. It is hoped that this count will be completed by April.

Another group of teachers centering around Indiana University under the direction of Professor Stout, head of the department of Latin, and of Dr. H. L. Smith, head of the department of Education, is already at work analyzing the results of this study. Assuming that the 10,000 words in Dr. Thorndike's "Word Book," already published, will in any case fall within the first 25,000, graduate students are now analyzing this material to determine what the Latin words are that explain the largest number of English derivatives and to determine the relative proportion of Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Greek in each successive thousand. As the new material is provided by Dr. Thorndike's study, this analysis will continue.

A necessary corollary of this problem is the determination of which of these English words are probably familiar to a pupil beginning Latin at the seventh or eighth or ninth grade and there-

by furnish an apperceptive basis for learning the Latin vocabulary, and what words are probably unfamiliar at the same points and thereby furnish the proper material for study by Latin pupils. It is obvious, for example, that the Latin element in English is relatively far more important from the pedagogical point of view at the beginning of the seventh, eighth or ninth grades than it is in the English language as a whole, since a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon element has already been mastered during the earlier years.

Another content study closely related to this is the construction of a derivative lexicon by the teachers of Chicago and vicinity under the direction of Professors Charles H. Beeson and Arthur J. Bonner of the University of Chicago and A. W. Smalley of the Hyde Park High School, Chicago. The new English Oxford Dictionary is the basis for this study. It has been divided up into convenient sections and about one hundred teachers will make a thorough analysis of the entire dictionary. The results of this cooperative study will be organized in the form of a lexicon with the Latin words arranged alphabetically, and all of the English derivatives from each word listed beneath it. It is hoped to combine with this material the results of Dr. Thorndike's study and to have the Latin element in the 25,000 words indicated by special type. This analysis will also include the Greek element. Incidentally, we shall have as a result of this study the first authoritative analysis of the elements entering into the English language.

Another content study involving vocabulary is also under way at Wisconsin under the direction of Dr. V. A. C. Henmon, director of the School of Education with the cooperation of the Romance Department and groups of French teachers throughout the country. Its purpose is to determine what Latin words are most valuable for the interpretation of the most important words in the Romance languages. Here also a word count is under way to determine the most important French words. On this basis it will be a comparatively easy matter to determine the application values of the Latin vocabulary to the Romance languages.

The actual Latin in use today is the object of another content study which is being directed by Miss Frances E. Sabin of the

University of Wisconsin with the aid of three graduate students and about one hundred and fifty collaborating teachers each of whom is analyzing in detail the actual Latin occurring in a contemporary book or magazine.

Closely associated with this study is another also being directed by Miss Sabin with the assistance of about one hundred collaborators for the purpose of determining the extent and relative frequency of references to classical ideas in contemporary books and magazines.

Dr. B. R. Buckingham and W. L. Coxe of Ohio State University are initiating another content study in the field of spelling for the purpose of determining what Latin words will assist most in encouraging correct spelling of the English words derived from Latin. They are also compiling a list of the actual English words most susceptible to assistance in this respect.

In the field of syntax a very important content study is now in progress under the combined direction of Dr. W. W. Charters of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, and Dr. Evan T. Sage, head of the Latin department of the University of Pittsburgh. This study involves an analysis of the grammatical errors made by high school pupils in connection with tests given previously by Dr. Charters and similar tests being given in the course of this investigation. It is hoped that this inquiry will provide the data necessary to enable teachers who wish to emphasize this aspect of their work to make a much more valuable contribution to the pupils' mastery of English grammar than has heretofore been possible.

Several content studies dealing with the larger aspects of the Latin course are under way. The committee desires to open up afresh the entire question as to the content of the course as a whole. A group of about fifty men and women has been invited to study this problem, and, using to the fullest extent the results of the tests under way, to prepare for submission to the Committee early next year their well considered judgment as to what should be the first connected Latin reading in the course, when it should be begun, and what Latin authors and how much should be read during each year of the four-year and six-year courses in Latin.

Recognizing that in some parts of the country a two-year Latin course is an established fact, the Committee has asked Dr. B. L. Ullman of the University of Iowa to inquire carefully into the sentiment of teachers of Latin, English and education as to what should be the content of such a course, in order to make it both complete in itself and at the same time an adequate basis for the work of later years in high school or college.

The Committee is convinced from a study of the literature of the subject that some conception of the larger historical and cultural lessons implicit in the authors at present read should be a normal product of the course. Two studies dealing with these problems are now in progress. One of these is concerned with the larger historical implications in Caesar of which pupils should become conscious. Dr. S. B. Davis of the Department of Education of the University of Pittsburgh and Dr. E. T. Sage of the same institution are now conducting an inquiry to determine the consensus of opinion among teachers of Latin as to precisely what these larger implications are. They will then attempt to find out by the use of tests to what extent they are at present actually grasped by pupils, and consider means for improvement in this respect.

Miss Barbara M. Hahn of Springfield High School, Mass., with the cooperation of Dr. Alan Abbott of Columbia University, is engaged in a study of the literary elements in Virgil, first, to determine what literary qualities secondary school pupils may reasonably be expected to appreciate or be taught to appreciate; and secondly, to determine by means of tests what growth in such appreciation actually occurs, and finally, to consider what constructive measures should be taken to secure better results.

The Committee desires to take this opportunity to express to each of the more than 1,000 teachers who are now collaborating in various content studies its keen appreciation of their personal sacrifices and to assure them that full and individual recognition of every contribution will be made in the final report.

There is another important result at which the committee is aiming in promoting these cooperative studies. The conception of cooperative research is one that has been in the main

conspicuous by its absence in American education, although it has been long since accepted as a most valuable medium of scientific study in England and Germany, as the "Thesaurus" project indicates. The Committee hopes through such cooperative projects as this not only to secure certain results themselves of great intrinsic value, but also to leave the conception of cooperative research as one of the permanent fruits of the survey. Once able to unite on projects of any type, our ability to mobilize our resources for advancing our interests in the coming years will be vastly increased.

The next article in this series of "Reports of Progress" will describe the controlled experiments which are either in progress or in preparation. This phase of the investigation constitutes without question the most difficult part of the committee's program, and it is the most valuable instrument for determining what constructive recommendations as to methods and content should be made.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Arkansas

Little Rock.—The Foreign Language Section of the Arkansas State Teachers' Association held its annual meeting Thursday, November 10th, in the Frame Gymnasium of the Little Rock High School. An unusually large number were in attendance, and showed much interest in the program, which was as follows: "Sanity in First Year Latin," Professor D. P. Holmes, Henderson-Brown College, Arkadelphia; "Problems in Teaching Elementary French," Professor James Kessler, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville; "Some Points of Emphasis in Teaching Latin," Professor H. W. Kamp, Hendrix College, Conway; "Problems in Teaching Second Year French," Miss Myrtle Charles, High School, Little Rock; "Meeting Varying Abilities in Latin," Miss Hazel Murray, High School, Little Rock; "A Summer in Mexico City: The Spanish Teacher's Opportunity," Miss Ada Jane Harvey, Arkansas State Normal, Conway.

Feeling that the Foreign Language Section was attempting to cover too much ground and that the interests of both Ancient and Modern Language teachers would be promoted better by separate organizations, a petition was made to the authorities of the State Association for separate sections to meet at different times next year and after. The teachers of the Classics met at once and organized, electing Mr. H. W. Kamp, of Hendrix College, president, and Miss Olive Chandler, of the West Side Junior High School, Little Rock, secretary. Much interest was manifest in the Classical Survey now under way.

Colorado

Boulder.—The activities of the Classical Club of the University of Colorado for the past year may be summarized as follows: two papers on Tibullus and the *Corpus Tibullianum*; a program on Alcaeus and Anacreon with the recital in Greek of the more important fragments; an illustrated lecture on Crete by Dean Hellems; a dramatization of Plato's Republic, Book I in translation; scenes from Plautus's Captives; and lastly, a Greek Symposium with all the necessary accessories. The guests at the symposium reclined on couches; slaves brought in tables laden with Greek articles of food;

garlands, grape juice served from a wreath-decked bowl, libations, and a flute player all helped to make up the ancient scene. Each guest contributed to the program, some with speeches on Socrates, some with Greek riddles, others with the recitation of old Greek banquet songs. One played on the lyre, another sang one of the Delphic hymns with its Greek music. A pantomime of the Judgment of Paris and a beautiful solo dance by a girl with Grecian features completed the entertainment.

Iowa

Des Moines.—The annual banquet of the State Hellenic Society was held at Drake University in November. Professor Ullman presided and introduced the speaker, Professor Edward Capps of Princeton, who spoke on present conditions in Greece.

At the State Teachers' Association in November over a hundred enthusiastic Latin teachers met for the annual Round Table. Professor C. N. Smiley of Grinnell presided. This was the program: "Our Latin-English language," Professor Ullman, Iowa City; "Objectives in a four year Latin course," Wilma Rayburn of Ames, and Effie Maytag of Boone; "A reference library for high school Latin," F. H. Potter; "Translations and the direct method," Professor Frank I. Merchant, Cedar Falls.

Iowa City.—Professor Edward Capps recently lectured on Greek Comedy before the graduate students of the State University.

Connecticut

New London.—On the evening of November 19, 1921, the *Menaechmi* of Plautus was presented at Connecticut College for Women by students of the Latin classes in the original Latin. The admission price was fifty cents, the scenery and costumes were specially designed and made for the performance. The expenses were heavy, yet the interest which had been aroused by students and members of the faculty was such that not only were expenses met but a substantial amount cleared for the college endowment fund. Guests came from colleges and schools throughout the state and even outside and were entertained in the various dormitories. The college paper commented very favorably on the undertaking and pronounced it distinctly worth while, although the editorial board is not composed of students who are personally interested in Latin. The local paper had also favorable comments only, and its headlines announced "Value of Ancient Drama Demonstrated." A simplified and somewhat abbreviated version of the play in Latin had been prepared, mimeographed and circulated among students and faculty before the performance, and the story of the play in English had been published in the college paper the week before. The majority of the audience seemed to follow the action easily, and applause and laughter were frequent. The value of the work to the students taking part was unquestionably very great, and seemed to the teachers concerned to warrant more attention to the oral use of Latin, and the future presentation of other comedies in Latin.

Illinois

Alton.—There was given not long ago at Shurtleff College a dance-visualization of a Greek Myth. The presentation was given under the

direction of Professor Paul Benrimo, Professor of Greek and Latin at that institution. The performance was not a Greek play but simply a dance-visualization of the dramatic elements in the story of Alpheus and Arethusa as they appear in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The selection concerned was a translation by Professor Benrimo. The girls who were in the cast were under the direction of Mrs. Wood who is in charge of the Physical Culture for Women at the College. The emotions of the characters, such as the fear and flight of Arethusa, the hot pursuit of Alpheus, Arethusa's cry for aid, her rescue and concealment by Diana and her subsequent transformation, were portrayed by the girls in their dancing. The concealment of Arethusa by the clouds and the intermingling of the waves were most successfully depicted by the performance of the actors.

A noteworthy feature of the affair was the fact that the music was especially well selected. The nymphs' dance in honor of Diana was done to the strain of the ballet-music in "Aida." Arethusa bathed and sported in the stream to the accompaniment of "Anitra's Dance from the Peer Gynt Suite." Alpheus drew near to the shrinking and terrified Arethusa to the accompaniment of the "Amor, amore" motif in the second Act of "Aida." The costumes were most appropriate to the purpose.

A large number of the townspeople as well as students watched the performance which lasted about half an hour. It was presented out in the open in a sunken garden about 150 by 300 feet on the campus. The performance was part of the commencement exercises for the year.

Chicago.—The Chicago Classical Club held its twenty-fourth meeting at the Hotel Lasalle on December 10. A goodly number of members was present. After dinner Professor W. L. Carr, of Oberlin College, spoke on the Classical Survey. Professor Charles H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, made a statement regarding the new Etymological Dictionary which classical scholars of the Chicago Club are undertaking to bring out as their contributions to the Survey. Professor Gordon J. Lanig then spoke to the subject *Vos quoque valeatis*, this being his farewell appearance among his friends of the Chicago Classical Club, of which he was a charter member.

Professor Gordon J. Lanig, for twenty-two years a member of the department of Latin in the University of Chicago, and chairman of the department since 1919, on January 1 of this year severed his connection with Chicago to become head of the department of Classical Literature and dean of the faculty of arts in McGill University at Montreal.

Kansas

Topeka.—By the invitation of the College of the Sisters of Bethany, the Latin Round Table of the Kansas State Teachers' Association held its session, November fourth, in the Guild Hall on the college campus. The Round Table was fortunate in having present at its meeting, one of the special investigators of the American Classical League, Dr. Mason D. Gray, who spoke on the Classical Survey. After the addresses and the general discussion, the students composing the Phi Epsilon Classical Club of the College of the Sisters of Bethany, entertained the guests with the presentation of a Latin play, entitled *Andromeda*, selected from the book of Latin plays by John J.

Schlicher. The leading parts, King Cepheus, Queen Cassiope, Perseus and Andromeda, were taken by girls in the most advanced classes of the Latin department; while others filled the minor rôles and composed the *chorus virginum*, which sang the farewell to Andromeda and the hymns to Jupiter and Hymen. At the close of the play, the members of the Round Table were the guests of Dean Marinda P. Davis in the drawing room of Wolfe Hall.

Massachusetts

Boston.—The first winter meeting of the Classical Club of greater Boston was held at the Girls' Latin School, on Saturday, Dec. 10, in charge of the Committee on Sociability, Miss Mary R. Stark, chairman. After the luncheon Mr. Walter V. McDuffee of the Central High School, Springfield, spoke on "The Survey of the Classical Field," explaining in detail the investigation now being made by Dr. Gray and Professor Carr. Mr. Willard Reed, the retiring president, presented the report on the questionnaire sent out by the Executive Committee on "Continuation Reading." It was encouraging to know that the members of the Club had read so much since graduation from college. Vergil and Homer were the authors read by the greatest number, followed by Horace, Sophocles, and Aeschylus. On motion of Mr. Perkins, it was voted to appoint a committee of three to arrange for general reading of the Club.

The following officers were elected: President, Professor A. H. Rice, Boston University; Vice Presidents, Dr. Fred B. Lund, Professor R. K. Hack of Harvard University, and Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, President of Wellesley College; Secretary, Clarence W. Gleason of the Roxbury High School; Treasurer, Thorton Jenkins, Head Master of the Malden High School; Censor, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School.

Northampton.—About eighty persons attended the meetings of the Western Massachusetts Branch of the New England Classical Association at Smith College Saturday, October 29. After a brief address by President Neilson, who welcomed the Association to a college which has always been and will continue to be a supporter of the classics, the formal program was opened by Professor Waites of Mt. Holyoke College, who spoke of the Classical Conference held last summer in Cambridge, England, to discuss the Prime Minister's Report on the Classics in Education. In a brief sketch of the condition of classical studies in England she made the encouraging statement that the number of men studying Latin at Oxford and Cambridge has increased since the war, and that, too, in spite of the fact that short courses in agriculture, medicine, and law have been devised to attract returned soldiers. She said that the brilliance of many of the addresses and the comparative scarcity of "blameless but uninspired mediocrity" was the best argument for the studies under discussion. She was followed by Professor Duckett of Smith College, whose paper on "Some English Echoes of Catullus" called to the attention of the audience many delightful passages in which Carew, Donne, Campion, and more familiar poets of the same period imitated or translated the Roman poet.

After a brief report by Miss Hadley of Springfield on the plans now afoot in this country for an investigation of the teaching of the classics in secondary

schools, the meeting adjourned to Lawrence House, where the members of the Association were the guests of the College at luncheon.

The guest of honor at the afternoon session was Professor Hendrickson of Yale University, who gave a brief but suggestive sketch of the development of the satiric spirit in Greek literature, and pointed out that he meant to claim as characteristically Roman, not the satiric spirit, but the particular literary form in which a special type of satire was cast by Lucilius and Horace. The meeting closed with an informal account of a trip to Greece by Professor Wetmore of Williams College, who had found traveling in Greece wholly delightful in spite of political disturbances.

Michigan

Ann Arbor.—The fifty-third annual meeting of the American Philological Association was held in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America at the University of Michigan, December 28-30, 1921. The place of meeting proved to be favorable to an unusual attendance from the Middle West; but there was a considerable representation of the colleges of the Atlantic states, and even of New England.

The arrangements of the local committee for the entertainment of the societies were most convenient and pleasant. The headquarters of the meetings were at the Michigan Union, which combines the advantages of a well-appointed hotel with the atmosphere of a college club. Most of the men in attendance at the meetings stayed here, and found many opportunities for social reunions in the lobbies and lounge and dining-rooms before and after the formal sessions, which were held in the Natural Science Building of the University, not far away. The Committee rooms on the third floor of the Union were agreeable and easily accessible meeting places for official bodies such as the Executive Committee of the Philological Association and the Council of the Archaeological Institute. The women who attended the meetings were entertained at the attractive Betsey Barbour Residence of the University.

At a joint meeting on Wednesday evening Dean John R. Effinger of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts welcomed the two societies to the University in a speech which included a special tribute to the men who had taught Latin and Greek at Ann Arbor in the early days of the University. Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, Director of the School of American Research at Santa Fé, responded for the societies. The Annual Address was given by the President of the Philological Association, Professor Walton Brooks McDaniel of the University of Pennsylvania. His subject was "New Life out of Italy and Greece," and he illustrated with much humor and point the many reminders of Greek and Latin poetry, the many survivals of ancient custom, which the observant traveller, especially the traveller who is willing to leave the beaten track of the tourist, may still find in Mediterranean lands. This session was followed by a smoker for the men at the University Club and a meeting of the women at the Betsey Barbour Residence.

On Thursday, after the usual separate sessions for the reading of papers, the societies were entertained at luncheon by the University. There was no formal session in the afternoon; but many were glad to see under the guidance

of Professor Bonner and Professor Sanders the remarkable collection of papyri recently acquired for the University, and now exhibited in the Library. Late in the afternoon many members of the societies heard a recital on the Frieze Memorial Organ in the Hill Auditorium. To the programme of another joint session of the societies in the evening papers were contributed from both the philological and the archaeological sides. A very pleasant reception was given after this meeting by the faculty of the University in the Betsey Barbour Residence.

After their Friday morning sessions at Ann Arbor the members of the two societies took a train for Detroit, where they were the guests of the Detroit Society of the Archaeological Institute. After a delightful luncheon served at the Detroit Athletic Club the final session of the Philological Association was held at the Detroit Public Library. The Detroit Arts and Crafts Society entertained the societies at tea. Some members availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts, which contains distinguished paintings by old masters as well as of the modern schools.

No attempt will be made here to discriminate between the degrees of interest of the various papers presented to the Association and the Institute. The stimulus which the formal programmes of such meetings may give is illustrated by a remark of one of the archaeologists who is giving a course in the history of art at one of the Eastern colleges. Not one of the papers given at the sessions of the Archaeological Institute, she said, had failed to help her in her work.

Special thanks are due to the classical faculty of the University of Michigan, especially Professors Kelsey, Sanders, and Bonner, and Dr. Robbins, for the success of a meeting which offered not only the usual series of interesting papers, but somewhat unusual facilities for meeting old friends and for making new acquaintances in classical circles. The generous hospitality of the Detroit Society of the Institute will also be remembered with pleasure.

It was announced that the next meeting of the Association will be held at Yale University.—S. N. D.

Ohio

Cincinnati.—Dr. John M. Burnam, research professor of Latin and Romance paleography at the University of Cincinnati, died in Pomona, California, on November 21. Dr. Burnam had been staying at his sister's home, where he suffered a paralytic stroke last August. Recent advices from Pomona indicated that his health was improving and that he expected to be back at the University next year to continue his studies.

Professor Burnam had the largest private collection of Latin manuscripts and facsimile reproductions of ancient paleography in the United States. He was recognized as an authority not only in this branch of knowledge but on a number of others connected with ancient life and learning. He had published a number of works of interest to scholars. As a teacher, Dr. Burnam will be remembered by his students for his amazing breadth of learning, for his great patience with matters of detail, and for the severity of his stand-

ards both as to the quantity and the quality of the work which he required of his students.

We may say of him as of other teachers: He was an inspiring teacher—laborious and faithful in the task of instruction; hundreds of students loved him, honor his memory and are thankful for his guidance. Yet his chief concern was not in the teaching of the multitude nor in their applause. He taught with the hope that among his many disciples he might find at least one to renounce the world for the cause of the ancient learning and blaze new pathways through some of the uncharted regions of classical antiquity.

He was above all things a student—less interested in disseminating traditional knowledge than in opening up new fields of study and presenting the world with series of facts unknown before. In preparing for his work he not only mastered in full detail the ancient classical languages, the Romance dialects and classical philology, but had acquired a thorough speaking knowledge of most of the modern tongues heard on the European continent. At one period of his life he learned a new language every year.—H. L. S.

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City.—Miss Jessie D. Newby, of the Oklahoma High School writes: The first opportunity of conference for several years was offered the Latin teachers of Oklahoma at the Annual Educational Association. The large attendance of college and high school teachers demonstrated such interest that provision for future conference was demanded and a permanent organization was effected. Miss Dorothy Angerine of Central High School was elected chairman, and Miss Jessie D. Newby of Irving High School was made secretary. Both are of Oklahoma City.

Several papers of real merit were presented and discussed. They included "Caesar and the World War," John Moseley, University of Oklahoma, Norman; "First Aids to Latin Teachers," Professor Otto Jeffries, Central Normal College, Edmond; "The Value of Latin in the Study of English," Miss Frances Reubelt, University of Tulsa, Tulsa; and "Latin Club Work," Miss Clara M. Metert, High School, Blackwell, Okla."

Oregon

Portland.—On November 19, 1921 twenty-five Latin teachers of Portland met for luncheon at Hotel Seward to get better acquainted and to arouse enthusiasm for the annual meeting of the Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States to be held at Walla Walla, Washington the following week. One of the pleasantest features of the luncheon was the presence of the City Superintendent of Schools and his two assistants. In a very effective talk Superintendent Grout urged the teachers to put greater emphasis on those phases of Latin that would make for better future citizenship and to make stronger efforts to "sell" Latin to the high school students.

An informal meeting of the Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States was held at Lincoln High School, Portland, Oregon on December 29, 1921 in connection with the meetings of the Oregon State Teachers' Association. Professor Frederic S. Dunn of the University of Oregon acted as chairman. A report of the Walla Walla meeting was given

by the secretary, Julianne A. Roller, and the following papers presented at the meeting were read by various members present:

1. The Work of the Classical Survey.
2. Some Observations on High School Latin Teaching.
3. Caesar *non* Vicit.
4. Latin in the Upper Grades.
5. The Heritage of Wisdom.
6. The Human Qualities of the Classical Gods.
7. Classical Archaeology in the Poetry of Byron.
8. Marcus Porcius Cato.

The Northern Section now has the largest membership of any section in the Classical Association of the Pacific States. The officers hope to pass the hundred mark this year.

Washington

Walla Walla.—Because of an almost complete disruption of traffic due to severe storms, the eleventh annual meeting of the Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington on November 25 and 26, 1921 was not as well attended as had been hoped. The meeting more than made up in enthusiasm, however, what it lacked in numbers and was one of the very best that the Association has ever held. The following program was given:

Classical Archaeology in the Poetry of Byron, Professor Thomas K. Sidey, University of Washington; Halo-Celtic Labials arising from Indo-European Labio-Velars, Professor James A. Kerns, Whitman College, Walla Walla; Some Observations on High School Latin Teaching, Miss Lucile McIntyre, High School, Walla Walla; Latin in the Upper Grades, Miss Lillian Lindner, High School, Walla Walla; Caesar *non* Vicit, Miss Amsel Greene, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; President's Address, The Work of the Classical Survey, Professor Harold L. Axtell, University of Idaho; Plato as Artist, President S. B. L. Penrose, Whitman College, Walla Walla; The Oxyrhynchus Logia of Jesus, Professor W. H. Bleakney, Whitman College, Walla Walla; The Human Qualities of the Classical Gods, Mr. I. C. Libby, Lewis and Clark High School, Spokane; The Heritage of Wisdom, Mrs. Louis F. Anderson, Formerly Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, Hunter College, New York; Marcus Porcius Cato, Professor Sereno Burton Clark, University of Washington.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Professor Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College; Vice President, Professor Sereno Burton Clark, University of Washington; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Oregon; Executive Committee, Professor E. E. Ruby, Whitman College; Professor James E. Malone, Gonzaga University; Professor W. P. Clark, University of Montana; Miss Cora Pattee, Washington High School, Portland, Oregon.

At the business session it was decided to hold the annual meetings in the future consecutively at Portland, Seattle, and Spokane in connection with some other educational meeting and to affiliate the Classical Sections of the various State Teachers' Associations in the Pacific Northwest with the

Northern Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States and consider their annual meetings as part of its regular program.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

The American Academy in Rome announces its annual competitions for the Fellowships in Classical Studies. There is one fellowship of the value of \$1,000 for one year, and one of the value of \$1,000 a year for two years. Residence at the Academy is provided free of charge and board at cost. There is opportunity for travel in Italy and Greece. The awards are made after competitions, which are open to unmarried men and women, citizens of the United States. Entries will be received until March 1. Competitors must submit evidence of attainment in Latin literature, Greek literature, Greek and Roman history and archaeology, also an ability to use German and French. They must also present published or unpublished papers so as to indicate their fitness to undertake special work in Rome. Fellows will be selected without examination other than the submission of the required papers. For application blanks and detailed circulars of information apply to Roscoe Guernsey, Executive Secretary, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

On Monday afternoons at 4 o'clock the following lectures were given in the Lecture Room of the Academy.

November 21, "Cyrene," Professor C. Densmore Curtis, American Academy; November 28, "The Earliest Men of Latium," Professor Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin; December 5, "The Earliest Men of Rome," Professor Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin.

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be published in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

Latin may function not merely in the field of English vocabulary but also in that of English grammar. We have in the past taught a great deal of Latin grammar and we have drilled on it incessantly through recitation of rules, through questions on text and through composition. We have often failed, however, to make the Latin grammar as helpful for English as we could. I believe that it is helpful in many cases without any special effort of the teacher to make it so: we have all heard pupils say that they never understood English grammar until they had studied Latin. But we can increase the amount of help and the percentage of pupils helped by careful attention to content and method. The former is less important, for we are sure to include in our teaching almost every Latin construction which has a bearing on English. The method is more important. The Latin construction and its English parallel must be studied side by side, by a comparative method.

One of the things being attempted in the Classical Survey undertaken by the American Classical League is an experiment in teaching Latin grammar in such a way as to improve the pupil's knowledge of the principles of English grammar and his ability to translate those principles into correct usage. I am very anxious to have teachers write me what methods they have found useful for this purpose, so that all information possible may be available for the experiment.

Moving Pictures

Moving pictures are now recognized educational instruments of very high potential value. More and more schools are providing themselves with the necessary equipment. It will not be long before the number will be as large as that of the schools equipped with stereopticons. An unfortunate development has hindered the rapid spread of the moving picture in the schools. The films used in the theatres of this country are inflammable, which makes them somewhat dangerous for school use, though the newer machines reduce the danger to a minimum. There is available, however, a non-inflammable (or rather, slow-burning) film, which is more expensive than the ordinary kind. In France, the use of the inflammable film is prohibited

by law, I believe. In this country some firms have used it for educational purposes, but in a smaller size. Teachers are warned against machines and films of the smaller, non-standard size for the simple reason that it is impossible to obtain a sufficient number of subjects. There are none at all in the Latin field.

Producers have been chiefly concerned with professional theatres and have paid little attention to the educational field, which many of them do not understand. One result has been the loss of a large number of films which had served their purpose in the theatres but which in whole or in part would have permanent educational value. I have found it impossible to obtain some films I used years ago. Furthermore, some theatrical productions contain bits of educational value which cannot be segregated and devoted to school use. For example, the screen version of Hall Caine's *The Eternal City* contains some fine views of the Roman Forum, Colosseum, etc.

I think that I was the first to point out in print the value of moving pictures for the teaching of Latin and Greek (in an editorial in the *Classical Weekly*, VIII [1915], 201-02). Reference may also be made to my article on *The Latin of the Future*, *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XIV, 317. Other brief references are *Classical Weekly*, XIV, 70 (by G. D. Hadzsits) and XIV, 79, 104 (by Charles Knapp; comments on No. 9 below).

Subjects that are particularly helpful for use in Latin teaching are dramatizations of ancient stories and history, and views of places of Classical interest. We are just beginning to get suitable material. The dramatizations available at present are all professional, with the exception of the *Aeneid* picture mentioned below. In 1919 I prophesied that the *Aeneid* would no doubt soon be available in moving pictures. The prophecy was fulfilled the following year. The time will come when we shall have many such pictures.

Below I give the names of such films as seem especially suitable for school use. If no machine is available in the school, a theatre may be rented or even obtained free on an afternoon or Saturday morning. For the longer pictures admission may be charged and a profit made for the school. A reel contains 1000 feet of film or less and takes twelve to fifteen minutes to run off. I should be grateful for additions to the list.

1. *Julius Caesar*. Six reels. A biography of Caesar. Scenes in Gaul.
2. *Spartacus*. Eight reels. Revolt of the slaves.
3. *Last Days of Pompeii*. Six reels. From the novel by Bulwer-Lytton.
4. *Quo Vadis*. Eight reels. From the novel by Sienkiewicz. Temporarily not available for school use because out on theatrical circuit.
5. *Antony and Cleopatra*. Eight reels. This is suitable for school use, whereas the Theda Bara *Cleopatra* is not.
6. *Friends, Romans and Leo*. One reel. A modernized burlesque of Julius Caesar. Unobjectionable as a "comedy" but not highly entertaining.
7. *Cabiria*. Scenario by Gabriele d'Annunzio. Third century B. C., Rome and Carthage. Hannibal crossing the Alps. Siege of a city; a fine *testudo*.
8. *Theodora*. From the play by Sardou. Deals with Byzantium in the fifth century A. D. Probably not available for school use at present. New.

9. *The Descent into Avernus*. Two reels. Filmed from a dramatic version of the sixth book of the *Aeneid* presented by students of the Girls' High School, Atlanta, Ga.
10. *In the Days of Nero*. One reel. Made in France. Nero's attempts to murder Britannicus.
11. *A Grecian Vase*. One reel. A sculptor dreams of "the glory that was Greece." Classic dances.
12. *Mark Handy*. A short burlesque of the Theda Bara *Cleopatra*. Said to be a clever and unobjectionable "comedy."
13. *The Odyssey*. Some years ago I saw a short version of the *Odyssey*, made abroad. It was good, though the titles were poorly translated. The Polyphemus episode was especially good. Unfortunately it is not available at present. *Deliverance*, a George Kleine film about Helen Keller, originally contained about 1000 feet of Homer, chiefly the story of Odysseus and Circe. Not now available, but Mr. Kleine promises to make it so later.
14. *Oresteia*. Portions of the play by Aeschylus as given by students of Cambridge University, England. Not yet available.

Nos. 1-5, 7, 8 are large spectacles produced in Italy and are more accurate archaeologically than pictures made in this country. I can recommend them very strongly (except No. 8 which I have not seen but which is probably worth while and unobjectionable) as interesting and stirring pictures which young and old will enjoy and as valuable media for conveying and impressing facts about ancient life and history. This is especially true of No. 1, which is of the greatest educational value and takes first place among Classical films. Music should be used with all of these. I have not seen No. 9 but it is highly commended by a number of teachers and by others, including Professor Knapp. I have not seen Nos. 10-14 either.

The distributors and rental prices of the films are given below. Nos. 1-6 are distributed by George Kleine, 116 S. Michigan Av., Chicago, Ill., or 145 W. 45th St., New York. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 rent at \$25.00 per day, No. 6 at \$2.50. But a special arrangement has been made for distributing Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 as a result of a successful experiment in circuiting No. 1 in Iowa schools last year with the cooperation of the Latin department of the University of Iowa. Prints of one or more of these films are being placed in one educational institution of a state for distribution in that state at the rate, usually, of \$20.00. Special rates are quoted for several days' showings. In the following states the Extension Division of the State University may be addressed: California, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, Wisconsin. In other states the films are handled as follows:

Mississippi: Agricultural College, C. M. Tingle.

North Dakota: Agricultural College, Fargo, A. P. Hollis.

Ohio: Ohio University, Athens, V. D. Hill.

Washington: State College, Pullman, F. F. Nalder.

Pending extension of this system the above institutions are authorized to ship into neighboring states.

No. 7 is distributed by Associated First National Producers Inc., 6 W. 48th St., New York. No. 8 is distributed by Goldwyn, No. 12 by Pathé.

For No. 9 address Miss Jessie Muse, Girls' High School, Atlanta, Ga.; rental, \$35.00 where no admission is charged, or one-half the receipts, with a guarantee of \$15.00, where admission is charged. If three or more schools in a certain territory can use the film in a week's time, the charges are reduced to \$25.00 and \$10.00 respectively. Nos. 10 and 11 are distributed by the Atlas Educational Film Co., 1111 South Boul., Oak Park, Ill., at \$1.25 each. Nos. 13 and 14 are not available at present, but I am negotiating for them. No. 14 will be brought to this country if financial arrangements can be made. Negotiations are also under way for views of places of Classical interest.

Out of some fifty large photographs (8×10 in.) of scenes taken while *Julius Caesar* (No. 1) was being produced I selected twelve which seemed most important educationally. Some of these views are not preserved in the moving picture. Mr. Kleine has kindly consented to sell the set of twelve at cost, \$1.50. They should be in every school. It is not out of place to add that Mr. Kleine is a warm friend of the Classics.

Third Semester Latin

In the December number I suggested that the beginning work be extended to the third semester. In the same number Professor Nutting also urged the adoption of this practice and mentioned its growing popularity. Just after I sent my material in a teacher wanted information on the most perplexing point: what easy graded reading was available and desirable for the third half-year. I am free to confess that I do not think that we have met the difficulty in the best possible manner. In the meantime teachers are asked to give their fellow-teachers the benefit of their experience.

Conundrums

Where are the conundrums for which I asked in the October number?

Nonsense Rhymes

In the Classical Club or on other occasions a few nonsense rhymes are often enjoyable and even instructive. Dr. E. S. McCartney of Northwestern University supplies the following:

POPULAR IN SOCIETY

There was a young lover much prized
Who by Thisbe was quite idolized:
When his clothes were found bloody,
She said in a study,
"I think that he's been *lionized*."

Latin Composition

The idea of free composition discussed in the last issue of the "Hints" suggests the school Latin newspaper and other printed vehicles for the work of the pupils. The advantage of such vehicles is that they are an incentive to the students and greatly increase the interest. The disadvantage comes from the danger of acquiring an incorrect or unimportant vocabulary and peculiar syntax.

From the Los Angeles High School come two numbers of *Nuntius*, a small four-page paper published semi-monthly by the Classical students under the general direction (but without the editing) of Mr. Walter A. Edwards. Much of the material is in English, including news, translations, short essays, as on Roman trade, theatres, etc., but there are also Latin poems, jokes, news stories, including two about football games. The Latin is often impossible: "exchangam cum hoc libellum." But one must not expect perfection. I should think such newspaper contributions could be graded and credited as composition work. There are some very clever things: a "Dictionary of a Romarican" containing such items as "*clam*—a chowder, *cepi*—a form of punishment used in the army;" a parody on the beginning of the first oration against Catiline; several poems. Altogether they are very creditable performances.

The High School for Boys, Reading, Pa., under the direction of the Latin teacher, Mr. G. E. Kramlich, got out a twelve-page illustrated pamphlet in Latin containing for the most part paragraph essays on such topics as the Forum, the Latin language, the Rostra, the Acropolis, the school. These are in effect free compositions. The printing of the pamphlet was an incentive and a reward. Where such printing is impossible the best compositions may be exhibited on the bulletin board.

Books for the Library

Acting on request I give the following list of books on Latin language, literature, customs, etc., intended primarily for a college library, but many items of which, especially those marked *, are suitable for a high-school library as well. There are some omissions, however, of important high-school books which may be listed at another time. It is difficult to make up such lists, as the judgment even of an individual as to the relative importance of certain books varies from day to day. No doubt many will wonder why certain items are included and others omitted. There is, I think, good reason for including those mentioned, but others are doubtless entitled to inclusion. The quotations are from 1921 lists but prices are fluctuating constantly. If no publisher is named the book is published abroad and may be secured through an importer, such as G. E. Stechert & Co., 151 W. 25th St., New York. If the publisher is named but not the price, the book is out of print and must be obtained at second-hand, as through Stechert. The following abbreviations are used: A. = D. Appleton & Co.; A. & B. = Allyn & Bacon; A. B. C. = American Book Co.; D. = E. P. Dutton & Co.; G. = Ginn & Co.; H. = D. C. Heath & Co.; J. H. = Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore; L. = Longmans, Green & Co.; O. = Oxford University Press, N. Y.; P. = G. P. Putnam's Sons; S. = Charles Scribner's Sons; S. F. = Scott, Foresman & Co.; St. = G. E. Stechert & Co.

DICTIONARIES AND GENERAL WORKS

*Harper's *Latin Dictionary* (Lewis and Short). A. B. C. \$10.00.

*Smith, W., *English-Latin Dictionary*.

*Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (Peck). A. B. C. \$8.00.

- Smith, W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. 2 vols.
 Smith, W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. 3 vols.
 Smith, W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. ed. 3.
 *Sandys, J. E., *Companion to Latin Studies*. ed. 3. M. \$9.00.
 *Schreiber, T., *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*. M. \$10.00.
 *Kiepert, H., *Atlas Antiquus*.

LITERATURE

- *Mackail, J. W., *Latin Literature*. S. \$1.75.
 *Duff, J. W., *A Literary History of Rome*. S. \$5.50.
 Sellar, W. Y., *Roman Poets of the Republic*. ed. 3. O. \$4.75.
 *Sellar, W. Y., *Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil*. ed. 3. O. \$4.75.
 Sellar, W. Y., *Poets of the Augustan Age, Horace and the Elegiac Poets*. ed. 2. O. \$4.75.
 D'Alton, J. F., *Horace and His Age*. L. \$2.40.
 Allinson, A. C. E., *Roads from Rome*. M.
 Summers, W. C., *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*.
 Smith, K. F., *Martial the Epigrammatist and Other Essays*. J. H. \$2.00.
 *Dimsdale, M. S., *A History of Latin Literature*. A. \$2.50.
 Tayler, H., *Cicero*. ed. 2. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. \$5.00.
 *Petersson, T., *Cicero*. University of California Press. \$5.00.
 *Boissier, G., *Cicero and His Friends*.
 *Glover, T. R., *Vergil*. M.
 Gordon, G. S., *English Literature and the Classics*. O. \$3.40.
 (Harrison, F.), *Roman Farm Management; The Treatises of Cato and Varro—*
with Notes, by a Virginia Farmer. M. \$2.50.

LANGUAGE

- Lindsay, W. M., *The Latin Language*. O. \$11.25.
 Lindsay, W. M., *A Short Historical Latin Grammar*. ed. 2. O. \$3.00.
 *Bennett, C. E., *The Latin Language*. A. & B. \$1.40.
 *Gildersleeve & Lodge, *Latin Grammar*. H. \$2.00.
 *Lane, G. M., *A Latin Grammar*. A. B. C. \$1.80.
 *Allen & Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*. G. \$1.60.
 *Hale & Buck, *Latin Grammar*. Atkinson, Mentzer & Co., Chicago. \$1.60.
 Sturtevant, E. H., *Linguistic Change*. University of Chicago Press. \$1.00.
 Giles, P., *A Short Manual of Comparative Philology for Classical Students*. M.
 *Weise, O., *Language and Character of the Roman People*.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

- *Heitland, W. E., *The Roman Republic*. 3 vols.
 *Mommson, T., *History of Rome*. 4 vols. Everyman's Library. D. \$5.40.
 *Ferrero, G., *Greatness and Decline of Rome*. 5 vols. \$17.50. Cheaper edition, \$10.00.
 Jones, H. S., *The Roman Empire*. P. \$2.50.
 *Stobart, J. C., *The Grandeur That Was Rome*.
 Jones, H. S., *Companion to Roman History*. O. \$8.00.
 Frank, T., *Roman Imperialism*. M. \$3.00.
 Frank, T., *Economic History of Rome*. J. H. \$2.50.

- Ferrero, G., *The Women of the Caesars*. The Century Co. \$3.00.
 *Abbott, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*. ed. 3. G. \$2.00.
 Taylor, T. M., *A Constitutional and Political History of Rome*. ed. 4.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

- *Johnston, H. W., *The Private Life of the Romans*. S. F. \$2.00.
 *Fowler, W. W., *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*. M. \$3.00.
 Tucker, T. G., *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*. M. \$3.50.
 *Friedländer, L., *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*. 4 vols. D. \$14.00
 Saunders, C., *Costume in Roman Comedy*. Columbia University Press. \$1.50.
 Dill, S., *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. ed. 2. M. \$6.00.
 Dill, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*. ed. 2. M. \$4.00.
 *Abbott, F. F., *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome*. S. \$2.00.
 *Abbott, F. F., *The Common People of Ancient Rome*. S. \$2.00.
 *Wilkins, A. S., *Roman Education*. M. \$1.20.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

- Carter, J. B., *The Religion of Numa*. M.
 Carter, J. B., *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*. H. M. \$3.00.
 Fowler, W. W., *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*. M. \$2.75.
 Fowler, W. W., *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*. M. \$6.00.
 Fowler, W. W., *Roman Ideas of Deity*. M. \$2.25.
 *Gayley, C. M., *Classic Myths in English Literature*. ed. 2. G. \$1.92.
 *Fairbanks, A., *The Mythology of Greece and Rome*. A. \$2.00.

INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS

- Egbert, J. C., *Introduction of the Study of Latin Inscriptions*. A. B. C. \$4.00.
 Sandys, J. E., *Latin Epigraphy*. M. \$4.40.
 *Johnston, H. W., *Latin Manuscripts*. S. F.
 Hall, F. W., *A Companion to Classical Texts*. O. \$3.80.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

- *Lanciani, R., *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*. H. M.
 *Lanciani, R., *New Tales of Old Rome*. H. M. \$7.50.
 Lanciani, R., *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*. H. M. \$6.50.
 *Lanciani, R., *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries*. H. M. \$7.50.
 *Lanciani, R., *The Roman Forum*.
 *Huelsen, C., *The Roman Forum*. ed. 2. St.
 *Platner, S. P., *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*. ed. 2. A. & B. \$3.00.
 *Mau & Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*. ed. 2. M.
 Herschel, C., *Frontinus and the Water Supply of the City of Rome*. L. \$6.50.
 *Walters, H. B., *The Art of the Romans*. M.
 *Strong, A., *Roman Sculpture*. 2 vols.

Questions and Answers

Where can I find a satisfactory English translation of the Athenian ephebic oath? I want to have it etched on a copper plate for a war memorial.

The oath is found in Stobaeus and Pollux. A translation may be found in Monroe's *Source Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*, p. 33, and in Botsford and Sihler's *Hellenic Civilization*, p. 479. Better than these is one in the *Classical Journal*, XIII, p. 499, by J. W. Taylor, in the course of an interesting article on the subject. I offer a new translation as follows:

I will not disgrace my hallowed weapons, I will not desert my comrade in arms. I will fight for our religion and for our national life, by myself as well as with many. I will give heed to the judges in office. I will obey the laws now in force and such others as may hereafter be put in force by the common will of the majority. If any one seek to destroy the laws or fail to obey them, I will not submit but will fight him by myself and with my fellow-citizens. I will honor the religion of my fathers. In witness whereof I call upon the gods, Agrauius, Enyalius, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, Hegemone.

Where did the Congressional Committee that devised the Great Seal of the United States in 1781 get the motto "E pluribus unum"?

No absolutely positive answer can be given. Preble's *History of the Flag of the United States of America* (1880), pp. 694 ff., has a long discussion of the matter. The phrase was probably taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which bore it from 1731 on and which was a popular periodical in the Colonies. Its ultimate origin is uncertain, but it has been pointed out that in the *Moretum* (vs. 104), a poem ascribed to Virgil, the phrase "color est e pluribus unus" occurs.

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

ARISTOPHANES. *The Clouds of Aristophanes*, partly in the original and partly in translation, with notes and introduction by CYRIL BAILEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 133. 3s. 6d.

BUCKLAND, W. W. *A Text-book of Roman Law*, from Augustus to Justinian. Cambridge (England): University Press. Pp. xi+756. 50s.

COLUM, PADRAIC. *The Golden Fleece and the Heroes who lived before Achilles*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. ix+289. \$2.00.

FARNELL, LEWIS R. *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 434. 18s.

JONES, HENRY F. *Mount Eryx and Other Diversions of Travel*. London: Jopathan Cape. Pp. xii+323. 12s. 6d.

MERRILL, WILLIAM A. *Lucretius and Cicero's Verse*. (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. 5, No. 9). Berkeley, California: University of California. Pp. 12. \$0.15.

ENGLAND, E. B. *The Laws of Plato*, the text, edited with introduction, notes, etc. Vol. I, Books I-VI; Vol. II, Books VII-XII. (Publications of the University of Manchester.) London: Longmans. Pp. x+641, 669. 20s.

WHITE, EDWARD L. *Andivius Hedulio*. A historical novel of the period of Commodus. New York: Dutton. Pp. viii+613. \$2.00.

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Editorial

PROGRAM OF THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

Every member of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South is cordially invited to attend the annual meeting of the Association at the University of Wisconsin, in Madison, April 13-15. The general sessions are also freely open to all other persons who are interested in the cause of the classics. Attendance upon the annual meeting is always an inspiring experience. Not only are valuable papers presented, but the opportunities of forming or renewing friendships with other classical teachers are deeply to be treasured. Every member of the Association who can possibly attend should do so.

Some details are yet to be arranged and copies of the revised program will be mailed to all members during the month of March. A tentative order of exercises and important information follow:

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, 9:30 A. M., 277 BASCOM HALL

Meeting of the Executive Committee

THURSDAY, 2:00 P. M., 165 BASCOM HALL

MARY LEAL HARKNESS BLACK, Panora, Iowa, *Presiding*

1. WILLIAM F. PALMER, West High School, Cleveland, Ohio: "On Translating Vergil."
2. JOHN O. LOFBERG, University of Texas: "Athenian Traits in American Politics."
3. BERTHOLD L. ULLMAN, University of Iowa: "Our Latin-English Language."
4. H. OSBORNE RYDER, Hamline University: "Geometrical Devices in the Teaching of Latin."
5. LOUIS E. LORD, Oberlin College: "How to End a Story."
6. EVA S. HARMON, Chicago, Illinois: "Latin Vocabulary Games."

Announcement of committees appointed by the President.

Statement of motions to be considered at the business session.

THURSDAY, 8:00 P. M., 165 BASCOM HALL

DANIEL W. LOTHMAN, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, *Presiding*

Address of Welcome by President Edward A. Birge, University of Wisconsin.

7. CHARLES H. WELLER, University of Iowa: "From Nestor to Gamaliel."

8. HOWARD L. SMITH, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin: "A Layman's View of the Classics."

Reception at the home of President Birge and Miss Birge, 772 Langdon St.

FRIDAY, 9:00 A. M., 165 BASCOM HALL

CHARLES E. LITTLE, George Peabody College, *Presiding*

9. GERTRUDE SMITH, University of Chicago: "Greek Lawgivers."

10. EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY, Northwestern University: "Ancient Wit and Humor."

11. LEIGH ALEXANDER, Oberlin College: "Sandes and Attes."

12. IRENE A. MCLEAN, Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis, Indiana: "Latin Contests for Contestants."

13. HELEN L. MILLION, Hardin College: "An Old Roman Cook Book."

14. MASON D. GRAY, East High School, Rochester, New York: "Résumé of the Plans and Progress of the Classical Investigation."

FRIDAY, 2:00 P. M., 260 BASCOM HALL

ALFRED W. MILDEN, University of Mississippi, *Presiding*

15. LETA WILSON, High School, Madison, Wisconsin: "English in the Grades as a Preparation for Latin."

16. FRANCES E. SABIN, University of Wisconsin: "A Laboratory for the Training of Latin Teachers and for Serving the Interests of Latin in the State" (Accompanied by an extensive exhibit of materials).

FRIDAY, 7:00 P. M., LATHROP HALL

Dinner given by local members of the Association.

After the dinner a reception for women by the women of the local committee; a smoker for men at the University Club.

SATURDAY, 9:00 A. M., 165 BASCOM HALL

CHARLES H. WELLER, University of Iowa, *Presiding*

Business Session:

Reports of officers and committees; unfinished business; new business; election of officers.

17. LINDLEY R. DEAN, Denison University: "The American School of Classical Studies at Athens" (Illustrated).

18. GRACE F. GOODRICH, Ripon College: "The American School of Classical Studies at Rome" (Illustrated).

19. JOHN A. SCOTT, Northwestern University: "Schliemann and his Work as Viewed at the Centennial of his Birth."

SATURDAY, 12:15 P. M., University Club

Informal luncheon of members of the Association.

Conference of Vice-Presidents for the States with the President-Elect.

LOCAL COMMITTEE

A. G. LAIRD, *Chairman*
M. S. SLAUGHTER
G. C. FISKE
KATHARINE ALLEN
FRANCES SABIN
LOUISA WALKER
J. H. WILSON

ANNA BIRGE
LETA WILSON
FLORENCE DODGE
JOHN LOGAN
SARAH JENNINGS
RUTH B. KING
A. F. GRUNDLER

INFORMATION

Accommodations: For men the Beta Theta Pi and Delta Tau Delta fraternity houses will be available at \$3.00 a day, including meals. The rooms are partly double, partly single. As the members of the Association will have the houses entirely to themselves, it is believed that they will find these quarters more enjoyable than a hotel. Women will be assigned to Barnard Hall; rooms, without meals, \$1.50 a night. Meals can be had at the University Club, at the cafeteria in Lathrop Hall, or in local cafeterias near by. Members desiring to be assigned quarters are urged to apply to the local chairman as early as possible.

Those who prefer a hotel should make their own reservations and are advised to do so well in advance. On Capitol Square are the Park (single rooms \$2.00, with bath \$3.00-\$3.50; double rooms \$3.50, with bath \$4.50 up) and the Belmont (single rooms \$1.50-\$2.00, with bath \$2.50; double rooms \$2.50-\$3.50, with bath \$4.00).

Transportation: On arrival by the Northwestern guests should take Wingra Park cars to Capitol Square (for hotels), to Lake Street (for fraternity houses), or to Park Street (for Barnard Hall). Those arriving at West Madison depots of the St. Paul or Illinois Central change to Wingra Park cars at Capitol Square.

Registration: Members are requested to register as early as possible at Bascom Hall (ground floor, south entrance).

Meetings will be held in Room 165, Bascom Hall (ground floor, south end). The exhibit of Latin Laboratory material will be in Room 260, Bascom Hall (second floor, south-east corner). In Room 263 there will be on exhibit some Egyptian papyri.

Mail may be addressed care of A. G. Laird, Bascom Hall.

Entertainment: At the close of the program Thursday evening a reception will be given to the members of the Association by President Birge and Miss Birge at their home, 772 Langdon Street. At seven on Friday evening a dinner will be given by the local members in Lathrop Hall. Following the dinner there will be a reception for the women, given by the women of the local committee; for the men there will be a smoker at the University Club. Those wishing to attend the dinner on Friday evening are requested to inform the local chairman before April 8th.

PROGRAM OF THE SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, TO BE HELD
AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE, WELLESLEY, MASSACHUSETTS,
MARCH 31 AND APRIL 1, 1922

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 10:00 A.M.

1. Welcome, by President Ellen F. Pendleton, Wellesley College, with Response, by Dr. D. O. S. Lowell, President of the Association.
2. "Trips from Rome" (illustrated), M. N. Wetmore, Williams College.
3. "Lexitheria," Mr. Ernest A. Coffin, Hartford High School.
4. "When Juno Regina Came to Rome," Mary L. Richardson, Smith College.
5. Reports and Business, including the election of officers.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 2:00 P.M.

6. "The Treatment of some Classic Myths and Historical Episodes in Italian Painting" (illustrated), Lester M. Prindle, University of Vermont.
7. "Nikolaos G. Polites, a Contemporary Greek Folklorist," Aristides E. Phoutrides, Harvard University.
8. "The Magic of Personality in Cicero's Letters," Mrs. Samuel V. Cole, Wheaton College.
9. "The Challenge to the Classics," Albert S. Cook, Yale University.
10. Round Table, for the discussion of any questions that may be proposed at the meeting.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 8:00 P.M.

11. "A Gift of Themistocles: Two Famous Reliefs in Rome and Boston" (illustrated), Mrs. Harriet Boyd Hawes, Wellesley College.
12. "New Light from Ancient Egypt" (illustrated), Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 9:30 A.M.

13. "The Classics: a Luxury or a Necessity for the Student of English?", J. Edmund Barss, The Loomis Institute.
14. "Pompeian Wall Decoration" (illustrated), Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan.
15. "Standardized Tests in Latin," Miss Laura K. Pettingell, Beaver Country Day School.
16. "The Naval Victory over the Veneti," Frank L. Duley, Northfield Seminary.
17. "The National Classical Investigation," Walter V. McDuffee, Springfield Central High School.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 2:00 P.M.

18. "A Phaeacian Maid," Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School.
19. "The Classical Teacher's Objective," Francis P. Donnelly, S. J., Boston College.
20. Unfinished Business.

THE GREEK SPIRIT TODAY

BY WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD
Professor of English
University of Wisconsin

There never has been a moment when the decline of Greek studies has seemed more reconcilable with the moods and the needs of men than it seems in fact today. What have those ancient seaports and those little islands to say to the great international traffickers on the seven oceans? What is a trireme beside a dreadnaught? What memory or music is left of the Homeric spear-men after the cannon that lately ploughed up Europe and the outskirts of Asia? What sorrows, suffered under those old skies by men and women of Athens or of Thebes, or figured of beings human or divine in the shadowy sagas on that austere and decorous stage, can have any meaning more to a world which has shrieked the pain of its wounds or wailed the pangs of its hunger in a score of languages then unborn? What can the social and political squabbles of miniature republics and kingdoms no bigger than a small county in Southern Wisconsin teach us today who welcome or shudder at the world-embracing society of states projected at Versailles or at the Kremlin, or who see huge armies of the workers combining in a dozen European or American cities to do battle with the combined lords of life, each richer than ever Greece fabled of Croesus, the king? And the philosophers—they knew so little! They knew the difference between the color of salt water down the wind-swept Aegean when the sun was under a cloud and when the sun shone on a placid midsummer morning; they knew the difference between an angry man and a happy man, little more. The very facts of natural science upon which to base thought were undiscovered; and the very facts of human history, in its politics, languages, literatures,—civilization itself in short,—upon which to base thought were, as we know them, as yet uncreated. And what profits it to know the genealogies of the Parnassian Gods, when all gods are gone? In this momentous age of realism, of consciousness of fact and of the challenge of fact, in

this age of giant forces of life at close and terrible grapple—this age conscious in the throes of finding itself and reconstructing itself as none other in history—what of Greece? The Hellenic world can remain merely a beautiful dream for a few white-bearded gentlemen with slippered feet on the fender, too weak-eyed to see the new, too feeble of arm to put hand to the new. Latin may still justify itself in a left-handed sleight by pointing to the English Dictionary or the botany books or the law courts; but the day of Greece is irrevocably gone both in school and out; for the white-bearded old fellows will speedily die off.

So we have heard. So we have said. But I wonder why in these times my own heart and soul, so on fire with the evil and the grandeur, with the terror and the hope of today, has so often turned back to this little clan of a long perished world precisely in these last two or three years—and turned back not as one who would escape the present tumult in a scholar's refuge of dreams, but as one who would master the very life that now is. I wonder if there is any meaning for my preoccupation with today—still to speak of myself, as a witness to ideas far more than myself—in the Greek memories of my boyhood. The first name I recall from my early reading, after Eric the Red and George Washington in a one-syllable History of the United States, is Socrates: I ran to my mother to tell her about this wonderful Socrates. My first school declamation was Byron's "Isles of Greece," that had come to my ears from my father's repetition of his old Greek professor's favorite poem; and "The Isles of Greece" was the title of my first attempt in a prize composition contest. "Resolved that Greece has contributed more to civilization than Rome" was the question of the one public debate that the High School youngster settled once for all in favor of the affirmative. And the values and processes of civilization, as meditated in manhood, owe both impetus and direction in quite definable ways to precisely these juvenile contacts. Indeed, when I look back upon the formative years, as every man by the time he is forty-five does sometimes look back, I note that the school-matter most vital to my later life was three-fold: the geography of the world and the history of my country studied in the grades; and the Graeco-Roman languages,

literatures, and history that in memory are practically synonymous with what I had of formal high school education. Up to sixteen, mathematics had been for me but learning to perform ingenious tricks, without value as training, and, as the tricks were shortly forgotten (like the rules of a card-game), hence also without value for practical life. The literature classes, with the children's sing-song and the teachers' rhapsodies, had induced such a loathing of poetry and particularly of well known poems that it was twenty years before I could re-read "Snowbound"—while "The Vision of Sir Launfal" I have not been able to re-read at all. Music, civics, and nature-study, except physical geography, were simply routine, like the daily forming in line for recess or dismissal, only that the latter held out the more generous prospects. Perhaps it was the quality of the instruction; perhaps it was that undefined thing we call natural bent, which as Kipling says every fool must follow; perhaps it was something more than either, something in the old books themselves that gave solidity to the instruction and impulse to a natural bent after all natural to so many boys; but the fact remains that through my school-texts of the ancient classics I first truly learned what study means, as a whole-minded zealous application to problems, and as an act of imaginative self-identification with matter of human thought and achievement. The Graeco-Roman world was my thoroughfare both to man thinking and man doing. It was my awakening to poetry, and it established for me, without of course any consciousness then of the process, the relation of literature to life. My first experience of life in books, of the poignancy and beauty of words, impelled as I was to look long and close if I was to see anything at all, was in the tale of the ruined Helvetian folk whose boundaries became still more narrow, and of that brave, defiant, and likewise ruined, barbarian Ariovistus; in Eclogue and Epic, shepherd, and warrior, and wanderer, and the queen on the flaming pyre; and in Xenophon, with the trial of Orontas and the cry of the home-wandering Ten Thousand, "The Sea, the Sea." How agreeably private reminiscences of the class-room might delay me from the public matter here in hand! And when a change in the family fortunes interrupted my schooling and I spent two lonely

years in an inland New England village, my one companion, outside the household and Xenophon and Homer (and Virgil and Cicero—not to be ungrateful to those two who were also lovers of Greece), was one of those white-bearded gentlemen with slippers on feet.

He belongs, if any man does, to my story, this nonagenarian sage, sitting across the way from our parsonage on the elm-lined village street. Old friend and neighbor of Emerson and Alcott, a graduate of Bowdoin five years before Longfellow and Hawthorne, contributor to Emerson's *Dial*, expelled in the fifties from his parish in Salem for his anti-slavery views, there he sat, in summer on the little white porch, in winter before the grate fire in a low-ceilinged room back of the parlor, day in and day out with his Plato or his Homer in his lap,—closed only when some visitor, like the lad that then was, came to hear him tell his thought of this Plato and this Homer, his memories of the Battle of Waterloo, or his wise, far-seeing judgments on the America of the years that were headed toward the Spanish war and an imperial empire; or closed only, when the call came one memorable day to ascend the steepled hill beside the house to the old-fashioned pulpit aloft, where before a scholarly assembly from all parts of Massachusetts he spoke, like an Isaiah, of the spirit of man in a living commonwealth. And when a few weeks later he passed away, the lad took from the table in the deserted study the worn copy of Homer, a plain Teubner text of both epics bound and presented by his son on an old man's birthday of the venerable scholar. On the back fly-leaf was a memorandum in a fine, firm hand, neatly pencilled dates of a repeated event, which, I take it, was neither trivial nor mean; and, reading and counting up the entries, the lad found that Thomas Stone had re-read all of Homer twenty-five times since he was seventy-five years of age.

My mind skips the intervening decades to another nonagenarian, Alexander Kerr, who on the shores of our Lake Mendota of Madison completed but three years ago, in blindness, his limpid translation of that most modern of books, the Republic,—today both prophecy and menace,—begun a full generation after so

many of his old time colleagues had been laid under the grass. And Gilbert Murray, long since no more a young man, turns from beautiful translations of Euripides to well-meditated pamphlets on world politics. And, too, across the estranging Rhine, we have heard echoes of excellent words on today from Wilhelm-Mowitz, and from Hugo von Hofmannsthal; the one the greatest German critic of Greek letters; the other, a Viennese, since Goethe, the clearest-voiced poet of Greek story in German speech. I am reminded also that the most objective utterance on the war that has come direct to me through the transrhineish mails was a long letter in the local *Tageblatt* by the eighty year old professor of Greek at Heidelberg, that concluded with the shuddering exclamation: "der Kaiser war unser Verhaengnis." Again, I think of the dean of French letters, Anatole France, who so loved Sophocles and whose art owed so much to Hellas,—how he spoke out for his country during the great war, and how he has since spoken out for all countries; and I see the bent old man, lover of Sophocles, marching at the head of a procession of the populace in honor of Jaurès. The French artist suggests the Italian, and d'Annunzio too, versed in Greek, as flaming in his national as France in his social faith, borrowed from The Republic for his Constitution of Fiume. Still other names recur; but the reminder is certainly already enforced: whatever one's partizanship in the social and political issues that now crowd upon us, he must admit that eminent among the speakers and doers in the forum of contemporary life have been and still are the dedicated students of this Greek life, dead now over two thousand years.

I am sketching a vision, not formulating an argument: there are many wise men, fighting men, creative men in the world today with less even than Shakespeare's "less Greek,"—for some fountains of inspiration and thought are forever bursting forth from the rock-bottom of the human domain,—but let those who repudiate Greek studies as so alien to our times learn these great names of these men, so many of them old men. Greek seems to have been to them what mother earth was to Antaeus—replenishment for the present fight.

Working in quieter, more intangible, ways for the present hour is Fritz Kreisler with his violin, who carries a Greek play with him on his concert tours, and Charles Rann Kennedy, author and actor of social dramas, who is never happier, I think, than when reading aloud in the Greek the choruses of those tragedies he is just now staging for our eastern colleges. Then, there is 'a new minister in our town,' who, though he would shrink from seeing himself in such notable company is, perhaps, to me the the most striking illustration of how a man that has made the Greek mind his special study may face, inside the limits in which it is given a man to work, the economic, social, and political order or disorder of the present like a prophet and an honest man.

Odd, now that I think of it, that my only personal friend on the Peace Commission at Versailles was a Professor of Greek History, and that an off-print from the *Searchlight* which came to hand from its author just as I had put pen to this paper, studies, under the title "If Solon should come to Washington," the lessons on free speech, on courts and judges, and on the nationalization of money and of land available for our respected federal legislators in the so ancient legislation of him who said: "I stand with a strong shield cast over both parties, so as not to allow an unjust triumph of either."

But this last paragraph tends to lead away from the vision. Much specific concrete wisdom for today is hidden away, forgotten or disregarded, in more than one old Greek thinker, no doubt; for even with the interlocking banks of the world, and the enormous extensions and ramifications of the competitive system, and the long-range gun for the spear, and the check for the coin, and wireless telegraphy, aeroplane, and rotary press, the social and economic urge and technique of life is still much the same, as so vividly came home to me when I read Albert Zimmern's remarkable study on the economic history of Greece. Our concern here, however, is not with concrete lessons from Greek life. For the moment I can not say what particular citations from Greek thought or practice may have been interspersed in the writings of the publicists named above—very few I believe.

It is the witness to the vitality of the Greek spirit that is our concern here.

Many have felt that spirit more organically than they have defined it, and many who have defined it doubtless never felt it at all. Thus the small talk of educated circles and a school-room tradition have combined to perpetuate some curious misconceptions, or, at least, misplacements of emphasis. The Greek spirit is not in its essence the spirit of joy, either the abounding physical joy of a satyr or the gracious spiritual joy of the nine Muses in a ring, though both may still dance for posterity on the decorated beltings of antique vases. Only as a contrast to a narrow and sour-faced Puritanism (itself as a historic interpretation of such men as Milton and Sir Harry Vane open to query) is there any place for the idea of joy as a characteristic note of a culture that recorded itself in such marble and such parchment that still challenge our wonder and our silence. Where, for instance, in all Greek poetry (counting out the old carouser Anacreon, if you will) is there a song of the gloriously happy life, from the parting of Hector and Andromache to Oedipus at Colonos, and from Oedipus to the Greek Anthology? Where, on the other hand, outside the *Psalms*, is the note of the brevity and mystery of human life more authentic and more poignant? The elemental metaphors we still use, indeed, are from these "joyous" Greeks:

"Men, we men, *are as leaves* that grow in the season of flowers,
When, on a sudden, they burst, big in the rays of the sun;
Like unto them we rejoice for a moment in youth as it flowers,
Falling in autumn away, like unto leaves ev'ry one."

And after Mimnermus comes Empedocles with his, yes,

"*Like smoke* they are lifted up and flit away."

Once upon a time, indeed, when the brave new sect of Palestine began preaching the glad tidings and the Church Fathers began their sombre and embittered revaluation of antiquity, the Pagan Greek world was adjudged a world, not of joy, but of helpless despair. That, too, it never was. The Greek spirit took life earnestly, thoughtfully, and often enough sadly, but with heartiness and courage, with healthy-mindedness and curiosity. In

later times, men, fretted by the spiritual sterility of the petty world immediately around them in place and time, found emancipation in the abounding and magnanimous Greeks, and the joy of this emancipation, with unconscious gratitude, they transferred to their emancipators: so I think with Schiller, with Swinburne. But who is the joyful Greek, in prose or verse? Is it even the sunniest of them all, the still pensive, elegiac Theocritus? Is it Euripides, the Hellenic Ibsen? Is it Aristotle whose statue antedates Rodin's masterpiece "The Thinker" by so many teeming generations? Is it Epicurus, himself only less austere in his garden than Zeno in his porch? Is it Thucydides, chronicler of the plague and the downfall of Athens? Was the Rabelaisian Aristophanes, or the Voltairean Lucian, exactly a protagonist of sheer joy? And remember that the greatest humorist of Greece was himself the first incarnation of the moral law in Europe, destined to be a martyr, literally, for his humor no less than for his morals. Yet these are the men, who, with their supreme brothers in speech, left us the most accessible and reliable record of the Greek spirit; and, whatever our guess as to the joy of the common folk at festival or feast or harvest-home, by the Greek spirit we must mean mainly the spirit of these men, if we are to mean anything tangible at all. They were not devastated by the sense of sin, either in themselves (like the Psalmist), or in their people (like the Hebrew Prophet); but, of all mankind they probed first, even as they very nearly probed deepest, the abiding issues of life. The Greek spirit is not the spirit of joy.

The Greek spirit is also not fundamentally what we idealize as "classical calm." This misconception, perhaps founded by Winckelmann, but apparently established first in the critical tradition by the mature Goethe, is historically justified chiefly as a reaction to the storm and stress of that undisciplined and more or less lawless, but salutary, Romanticism which the young author of Werther and Goetz had himself helped to let loose on a smug and astonished world. The misconception is also perpetuated, I think, by these motionless white marble statues in quiet museums and those broken white columns, still standing through time, in the valleys, by the marshes, or on the quiet hill-tops.

By the vases, too, so long emptied of their wine. But the calm that steals over us in silent places on contemplating, as with a blessed assurance, these witnesses to the beautiful surviving through such great years, is not a calm created by the dreams of the Greek artists, even as the still whiteness itself is due not to the Greek artists but to the winds and the Greek rains that washed their colors away. Some measure of truth there may be in the fact that all work in stone is by its nature relatively in repose, and that the Greeks so excelled in stone. But it is a fragmentary truth, to which Greek literature itself seems, when vitally experienced, to lend but scanty support. There is no violence, no lawlessness even in the relics of Heraclitus, for all his disdain of his townsmen the Ephesians, and for all his reiterations that everything good and bad, high and low, is in flux: to him, even him, there abided the "logos," as it abided, under one name or another, for every Greek. The logos: this is the Greek antithesis to violence; the antithesis is not "calm." And there is a pragmatic test, perhaps too obvious and homely ever to have been seriously thought of; but certainly one test of calm (or serenity) in a poet or proseman should be the power to beget calm (or serenity). For one, I will say no Greek writer begets calm in me. No Greek makes me, for one, serene. I am too wrought upon by the stir of an eager and restive mind, too deeply involved in those human affairs, whether of action or of contemplation, whereof he speaks. Finally, if the tradition of Greek calm is associated with some immortal image of ethical serenity, like Socrates in the sunset-prison, like the blinded Oedipus under the Acropolis, and with the Greek's sure faith in the final subsidence of passion into thought, the faith that repudiated ending an oration or drama or lyric with an operatic shriek, such images and such a faith suggest far deeper messages of wisdom than "classical repose."

So too, though in a less intransigent vein, the modern man might well take issue with several other traditional conceptions of the Greek spirit: that the essence of the Greek spirit is harmony, or artistry, or outline, or the finite, or the natural, as opposed to certain other aboriginal cultures of mankind,—the

amorphous Hebraic, the shadowy and mystical East Indian, the monstrous and grotesque Egyptian—might take issue, saying, if such have been among the most serious readings of the Greek spirit for other times, and as such most vital to other times, they are not, though still unrepudiated, the readings that most come home to us today. Today the Greek spirit means primarily intelligence and creation.

We have arrived at a very simple idea after all; and we can only escape the folly of laughing at it as a platitude by realizing anew the amazing phenomenon of Greek intelligence and Greek creative act, a realization for which the few words of this paper can do very little. This intelligence was not only the first in human history to master concrete reality with the five senses unembarrassed and undismayed, and not only the first to order the realities of the senses under principles of thought, not only the first to discover nature, on the one hand, and mind on the other, but in this mastery and this ordering and this discovery, conceived as a process and as such distinguished from details since furnished by subsequent terrestrial experience, it practically established even for us today the very technique of the achieving intellectual life. As creative act, the Greek spirit not only shaped the most subtle and plastic instrument of speech of the Indo-Germanic and hence obviously of all ethnic or linguistic groups, not only wrought out a folk-lore and myth, scarcely less permeated by beauty than it was by wisdom, that has for this become practically the alphabet of the symbolism of the Western World, not only built up new and momentous complexes of organized society, not only imaged on stone or in verse the first men and women and gods that illumined man's ignorance of men and women and gods, not only erected those many temples in the three orders; but it discovered the very function of form in man's work, and not only discovered the function but established for civilization so many of the specific forms themselves, as, for instance, in literature—the drama, the public speech, the scientific treatise, the dialogue or symposium, the lyric, and more than one of the fundamental rhythms of verse.

Above all, however, the Greek spirit, as the creative spirit, should have taught man to create; and so indeed it has always taught large and powerful men; or rather large and powerful men, when touched by the Greek spirit, have not lost but gained in largeness and power. Only to little and feeble minds can the Greek spirit mean imitating one or another of the creative acts of the Greeks: the most sterile age in English Literature was such an imitation of what was itself often almost an imitation of the Greeks, though, as a lover of Lucretius and Catullus and Vergil, I know the Latins could sometimes borrow like kings of song and thought. He who has not the spirit of Greeks is none of theirs; and, for a fact, it may well be that a man, a statue, a book, or an age, most unlike the Greek in gesture, outlook, or even substance, as perhaps the men and the age just ahead, may be Greek both as to intelligence and creative act. Or let us say, the builders of the Gothic Cathedrals of an age gone before were nearer to the Greek spirit, however ignorant of Greece, than those nineteenth century imitators of Greek portico and architrave in country-house and bank-building; one may insist on this, at least in a company of men and women emancipated from stereotyped modes of thought and speech, without seeming to confuse the so diverse values of art witnessed by Westminster Abbey and the temple of Paestum. Every time, in any age, man attempts something out of his own creative intelligence, he is nearer to the Greek spirit than even the most accurate copyist of the Greek forms. And it is only to a man of the former kind that direct contacts with Greece can bring any stimulation or any instruction.

We are reminded, moreover, that both intelligence and creation are implicated with freedom, and freedom of two sorts: freedom from external control, whether of law or of mob or of taboo; freedom from the self-torment of doubt and duality within. This twofold freedom was both in the birth and in the achievement of the Greek spirit. Both intelligence and creation, again, are implicated with the persistent process of living life, as an individual, for all it is worth: a quickened intellect and a shaping imagination are both outgrowth and culmination of a vigorous individual confrontation and mastery of experience. Living life

for all it is worth means both range and depth and control of experience for those beings we call men and women, who in their ineradicable natures are human beings, under the human, that is, the ethical law. To be a Greek means to be most humanly most alive. It is some such thought that has prompted poets, so hopeful of their kind, to exclaim: "We are all Greeks!"

But, alas, I for one cannot be so hopeful. Men are not all Greeks, and they never were—even in Greece. But still there are a number in every on-coming generation who may become Greeks; and the primary function of this noblest of all the humane studies is to bring to this precious number that acceleration and expansion of native power that comes from such companionship with, as it were, their own higher and richer selves.

THE PROFESSION OF LAW IN ROME

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Every reader of works on the literature of the Roman Empire has probably at some time come across the statement that the Romans, having little or nothing to do with public life, gave their attention to literature, and that from such a cause began the reign of rhetoric and a decline into dilettantism. A very recent and valuable book by W. C. Summers, *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*, emphasizes this idea in a paragraph about "imperial Rome, where men of ambition, who found the main outlet of their energies closed by the almost total extinction of political life naturally fell back upon the once subsidiary channels of literary fame."

It may be that this attitude, which hardly represents more than half the truth, is due, at least in part, to the fact that in the predominating impression which a man's literary work makes, his active career is often forgotten or belittled. The present generation regards Macaulay as a writer of history, essays, and poetry; but his own contemporaries must have considered him a government official and a statesman. He spent many a year as an active member of Parliament, and held a very responsible position in India.

And there are men of Rome to whom the quotation from Summers can not apply. Pliny the Younger now holds a place in Roman literature as a writer of letters; but in Rome he was a member of the senate, a counsel in trials of importance, and an imperial governor for several years in Bithynia. This man hardly had the outlet for his energies closed. And if the charge of dilettantism may be brought against him, its cause was not that he was out of touch with public life. Iulius Frontinus, an older friend of Pliny, a man with a great military reputation, at one time commissioner of the water supply, wrote books on military matters² and on Roman aqueducts. The books owed their origin to his practical experiences. Their style is not elegant, but simple

and direct, and not the product of a dilettante. To literary history Frontinus is known as their author; yet to a man of his time they can not have loomed large in an estimate of Frontinus' activities.

Great numbers of able men did no literary work or near-literary work at all, but were trained to be administrators, governors of peaceful provinces, military leaders in warlike provinces. Such men found outlets for their energies in public careers. Agricola is a fair example. There is an inscriptional record of a Sergius Severus who, in the second century, besides holding the usual senatorial positions at Rome, was successively governor of Dacia, Moesia Inferior, Britain, Judea, and Syria—from one end of the Roman world to the other, in vitally important situations.

But there was another profession, which required all a man's energies to win success, which was considered worthy of any man's devotion, which had a very direct relation to governmental and economic problems, which was no field for the dilettante nor the lover of rhetoric—the legal profession. Writings on that subject deserve consideration as a branch of literature, taking the term broadly to cover all writings in the form of books. Any history of literature, that of Summers for example, which gives space to scientific works like those of Frontinus, or perhaps, like the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, ought to give space to writers on the law. Summers finds no room for the jurists, though there were several of high rank in the period which his book covers. They are discussed in Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*. However, the question whether to classify them as literature or not is more or less academic, and may be allowed to rest.

A more important reason for the lack of attention to those works is probably to be found in the fact that practically none of them has come down to us directly. This fact has led a lawyer of some prominence to state, in an article published a year or so ago, "For 500 years following the overthrow of the Republic of Rome, aside from Aemilius Papinianus . . . there appeared but

a few great lawyers in Rome."¹ It is often stated that, generally speaking, the best of the literature of the ancients has been preserved, and that what has been lost is "small loss." There is truth in the idea, but not when applied to writings on law. The reason for this is very peculiar. When Justinian in the sixth century had the Digest compiled from the writings of the jurists, he passed a regulation that the original works themselves were no longer to be cited to support legal arguments, or for explanation. This was done to eliminate difficulties due to inevitable differences of opinion in the jurists' works. Thereafter they were only to be cited in so far as they appeared, in extracts, in the Digest itself. Naturally the Digest at once took the place of the original works. Fortunately, since for that work the cream of the jurists' writings had been skimmed, though there was little chance of the originals surviving, extensive quotations from them have survived. And from them it is possible to learn of the work of many individuals—the Digest quotes directly 39 of them, and many more are quoted by the 39. Their contributions and their relative importance can be studied. The fact then of the disappearance of the works in original form does not argue worthlessness, and offers little reason for disregarding them.

But the real reason for giving them adequate recognition in any study of writers of the Empire is that in the field of jurisprudence preeminently an advance was made, a tremendous development far beyond the limits reached in the time of the Republic. This development is sometimes underestimated or entirely overlooked. H. G. Wells, in his *Outline of History*, had not a word on it until one of his advisers called his attention to it. Even then he gave it slight attention, and his reader no conception of its significance. In the Digest the earliest jurist quoted belongs to the last century of the Republic—Q. Mucius Scaevola, by whose teaching of law Cicero profited. The vast mass of the Digest comes from writers of the Empire. Modern jurisprudence and modern systems of law are under a great debt to Roman Law. How great the debt is may easily be learned by a cursory reading

¹ Ed. J. White in *The American Law Review* (July-Aug. 1919) p. 510, an article on *Lawyers of Ancient Rome*.

of such a standard work on modern legal science as Holland's Jurisprudence. Holland often accepts Roman legal principles without change, often takes over their divisions and arrangements of subjects, and quotes their definitions as standard. The debt is largely due to Roman Law as developed after the time of Cicero. These considerations are significant in contrast to the idea that after Augustus' rule decline set in pretty generally, and that after all the Empire did little but preserve the Graeco-Roman civilization already developed. The fact is that the greatest period, the classical period, of Roman Jurisprudence finds its limits in the second century and the first half of the third century after Christ, a period which is often given its place by the estimate made of the works of Aulus Gellius and Fronto. To be sure in "pure literature" the decline had set in; but only near the end of the period can the sweeping statement be made that Rome had fallen on evil days.

All this may seem a little puzzling to anyone who recalls that the verdict of time has hailed Cicero, in the first century before Christ, Rome's greatest lawyer. Certainly Mr. White, to whose article reference has been made, was confused in placing under one classification Cicero, Papinian, and Tribonian. Cicero does stand preeminent, the leading lawyer in pleading cases before a court; but as a jurist, a student of legal principles, he has no standing. Nor did he claim any. That honor in his generation belongs to his friend, Sulpicius Rufus, to whom he pays tribute in the neat expression that he was "*non magis iuris consultus, quam iustitiae.*" Another great legal light of the day was Cicero's younger friend, Trebatius, known to readers of Roman Literature from Cicero's Letters and from Horace's Satires.

Cicero was the leading pleader, the first orator, and after his time, it is undoubtedly true, no great orator is known. It is a far cry from Cicero's Defence of Archias to Apuleius' Apologia, of the second century, with its far-fetched references to Moses and Zoroaster and Plato. Rhetoric had marked oratory for its own. Even the hard and practical cases of the law courts could not escape it. A delightful illustration of the point is offered in an incident related by the elder Seneca. Albutius, a teacher of

oratory and one with a considerable reputation, while conducting a case in court, rhetorically challenged his opponent's client: "Are you satisfied to have the matter settled by the taking of an oath? Take it then; but I will give the form. Swear by the ashes of your father, which lie unburied; swear by the memory of your father, which you have dishonored.' When he had finished, Lucius Arruntius (the famous senator of the reign of Tiberius) rose for the other side, and said: 'We accept the terms.' But Albutius shouted: 'I wasn't offering terms. I merely used a figure of speech.' But Arruntius insisted that he had. Albutius replied: 'If such a proposition holds, figures of speech are removed from the universe.' 'Let them,' says Arruntius, 'we can live without them.' (*Tollantur, poterimus sine illis vivere.*) And that was the end of it. The judges said that if the man would take the oath, they would decide against Albutius. He took the oath." The story goes on to tell that then and there Albutius gave up pleading in the forum.¹

One of Martial's short poems also illustrates the point:

Not poison, nor murder, nor assault, I charge,
The theft of three goats have I fought.
A neighbor, I say,
Stole my three goats away:
The judge demands proof to be brought.

But Postumus, advocate mine, in your speech,
On Cannae and war you dilate;
Mithridates, the bold,
And dread Carthage old,
So treacherous, faithless, you prate.

The Sullas, the Marii, Mucii too,
You voice in magnificent notes.
Your gestures are fine;
But, advocate mine,
Come, speak a word on my three goats.²

No one need believe the incident true; but perhaps there is as much truth as poetry in the general charge.

¹ Seneca, *Controversiae* VII.

² Martial VI, 19.

A reason often advanced for the decline of oratory is the fact of the loss of complete freedom of speech in forum and senate, and the non-existence of the give and take characteristic of political debate in the days of Cicero. Undoubtedly the great political change from Republic to Empire had its effect. One may compare, if it is fair to do so, the difference in attitude between Pliny's panegyric on the emperor Trajan and Cicero's tribute to Sulpicius Rufus. The contrast is marked. Yet it is a little hard to believe that law court oratory should have been so much affected by the political change. There was just as much as ever opportunity and demand for the plain statement of fact, for close reasoning, for keeping to the point. Speakers who saw the need for such qualities must have existed. Arruntius, of Seneca's anecdote, may well have been one of them; but no speech of his has survived. The products of Quintilian's teaching ought to have been worth listening to. However, the only extant law court speech in original form is the *Apologia* of Apuleius, which is generally accepted, and probably with reason, as a fair specimen of its time. Oratory had fallen under the spell of rhetoric.

But the writing of jurisprudence did not suffer from rhetoric's influence. In fact it developed a new style, neither Ciceronian nor like that of a Seneca or a Tacitus. From the standpoint of artistic beauty of style the works of the jurist Ulpian, for example, will hardly be compared with the *De Republica* or the *De Legibus* of Cicero. They ought not to be compared, for their purposes were so different. Cicero was in the large setting forth his political and philosophical ideas on government and the State, while Ulpian was developing mainly practical principles of law, illustrating them, and applying them to specific problems. The style, if style it may be called, developed by Ulpian and the school of jurists, was admirably adapted to its purpose. It is entirely devoid of ornament, as simple and plain and brief as can be, with almost no superfluous words used. It keeps strictly to the point, aims at clarity of expression, and pretty generally attains it. Its vocabulary and phrasing is of course strongly influenced by the subject matter, and by the conservatism which is characteristic of law. Its grammar is regularly that of its age.

For instance, the use of the infinitive of purpose, very rare in classical prose, is common.

Why did not the writing of jurisprudence come under the influence of rhetoric, as did other departments of literature? The question is not hard to answer. The jurists had to do with problems of very direct bearing on the economic, political, and social life of the times. Also, as has been stated, the science was developing in all its phases during the first centuries of the Empire. Practical problems demanded clarity of thought; to develop beyond the limits of the fathers demanded clarity of thought. And clarity of thought called for clarity of expression.

The fact of a great development of jurisprudence is recognized, and needs no proof. The causes of that development, at a time when there was a decline in many respects, are not so evident. Probably they can not be completely traced—seldom can all the causes for any movement be shown—but several important conditions favoring development can be indicated.

With the advent of the imperial form of government came peace within the Empire and safety from attack from without. The change from the old conditions offered remarkable opportunities for economic development, for business. Again, the centralization of power in Rome inevitably continued to work toward the unifying of all the various civilizations of the Empire, even though it was a principle of the Romans to respect local customs and traditions. Unity, it is true was never attained, but it was so nearly approached that the poet, Rutilius Namatianus of Gaul, in the fifth century, could say: "You have made of diverse races one fatherland." Peace, stable conditions, and consequent prosperity, together with the unification of the Empire, offered not only opportunities, but created a crying need for the development of law, public and private. When these conditions failed to continue after the reigns of the Severi in the third century, the development of law was greatly retarded. The impetus of conditions was effective.

The development was fostered by the emperors, actively and passively. As a rule they did not arbitrarily interfere, and especially not with private law. There was a real continuity from

reign to reign, of which it is not easy to get a view, and which is often not adequately appreciated therefore. In this respect the correspondence between the emperor Trajan and Pliny, when governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, is important. It gives a very unusual and illuminating glimpse behind the scenes of government. Read Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny himself in his private letters, and the impression would be gained that the murder of the tyrant Domitian and the overthrow of his government resulted in a complete reversal of policy under the new régime. Reversal there was; but complete reversals were no more actually brought about in ancient times than when, in modern, the Democrats give way to the Republicans. Pliny is found questioning the emperor on the status of certain provincials and quoting certain regulations of Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Trajan's decision, in his reply, recognizes the rulings of Domitian as far as applicable.¹ In another exchange of letters Trajan confirms a law of Pompey, amended by Augustus, about qualifications for membership in the provincial town councils.² This continuity, with its recognition of the decisions of other reigns, formed a solid basis for the steady, uninterrupted advance of legal science.

A further influence for development of very immediate importance to the students of the law was the legalizing by the emperors of the "*ius respondendi*" (the right of giving an interpretation on a disputed question of law). In the time of the Republic, when the science of law, though growing, was in its infancy, not only private individuals or state officials, but judges, who were not necessarily trained in the law, would carry questions to eminent students of the law for advice. The answers given had only the force of advice; but when the answer was given by an eminent jurist it often practically gained the force of law from his reputation. Augustus found this a workable means for development, and he encouraged it, while at the same time controlling the personnel of those holding the privilege, by actually delegating

¹ Pliny, Letters X, 65 and 66.

² Op. cit. X, 79 and 80.

his own authority (ut ex auctoritate eius responderent)¹ to qualified jurists of his own selection, to give legally binding answers to questions of law—the “*ius respondendi*.” If Pomponius may be trusted—he wrote in the second century a brief history of the development of law—the right was granted to only a few men in any generation, but was not confined to men of the senatorial class. An opinion on a point of law in a particular case given by one of them, written and sealed, was law, and the judge in the case was bound by it.

The opinions so delivered were called “*responsa prudentium*.” They were preserved and doubtless arranged by topics. The emperor Hadrian in the second century decided that a judge was bound by these recorded replies when they agreed, and was only free to make a new decision if they did not agree. No doubt the opinion of a living jurist on the case in point was binding as before. Furthermore these replies, as well as other sources such as direct enactments by the emperors, were taken up, commented on, and analyzed by jurists in formal treatises on various departments of law, and these treatises little by little themselves gained the force of law, especially in the field of private law. So much so that by the time of Constantine the numerous writings of Papinian and Ulpian were actually authoritative. A century later pre-eminent authority was bestowed by the emperor Theodosius II on the writings of five jurists, Gaius, Papinian, Ulpian, Paulus, and Modestinus, and quotations from earlier jurists found in their works. In case the five had differences of opinion on a point, the majority decided. And in case of an equal division of opinion, Papinian’s view prevailed.² These jurists all wrote several centuries before the ruling was made. The remarkable prestige they enjoyed was due to their thoroughness.

To gain then an appointment to the enjoyment of the “*ius respondendi*” was the goal of every ambitious student of law, and a goal worthy of the talents and ambition of any man. It carried actual power, and prestige, and reputation with it. Not all could

¹ Digest I, 2, 2, 49.

² R. W. Leage, *Roman Private Law* (1909) p. 32 ff.; R. Sohm, *Institutionen des Römischen Rechts* (1920) p. 136 ff.

hope to attain it; but its attractive powers developed jurists whose formal writings in later times were quite on a par with writings of those who had possessed it. The best example is Gaius, whose Institutes, written in the second century, became the foundation of Justinian's Institutes.

The standards of the profession were held high. At the very beginning of the Digest Ulpian writes: "Men may call us the priests of justice, for we worship her . . . being engaged in the pursuit of a philosophy that is genuine, if I am not mistaken, and not counterfeit." In another book he terms the profession a "*res sanctissima*" whose services ought not to have a money value put on them, and should not be so dishonored.¹ In a quotation by the Digest from Papinian the statement is made: "To speak generally, it is not to be believed that we can have to do with acts done *contra bonos mores*."² Ulpian's definition of jurisprudence itself was: "Jurisprudence is the knowledge of things human and divine, the science of the just and the unjust."³

The profession, under such conditions, developed able men who devoted their lives to it, the sons oftentimes succeeding the fathers. The profession appealed to scholarly students of the law, but also to the pleader in the court, and to men interested in practical problems of government. Many of its chief adherents reached important positions of trust in public life. They held the consulship, governed provinces, and were in command of the praetorian guard, a high judicial rather than military position in the third century. The emperors gave them places in the imperial council. Undoubtedly many of the decisions and laws promulgated under the name of an emperor came from the advice of some jurist.

In the reign of Trajan the jurist Neratius Priscus gained such standing that he was made a member of the imperial council and was very seriously considered by Trajan as a possible successor to the throne. In the next reign, Hadrian's, he is found again in the imperial council, and with him Salvius Julianus and

¹ Digest L, 13, 1, 15.

² Digest XXVIII, 7, 15.

³ Digest I, 1, 10.

Iuventius Celsus. These men all are quoted in the Digest. Julianus made for Hadrian the first and standard edition of the praetorian edict. About a century later the most renowned jurist of all, Papinian, while praetorian prefect, next to the emperors Severus and Caracalla, was the most influential and powerful person in the Empire. His sense of justice led him to oppose the murderous plans of Caracalla, and to refuse to defend the assassination of the emperor's brother, Geta. For this Caracalla had him put to death. He had had as assistants and advisers his own pupil, Ulpian, and Paulus—a triumvirate of jurists whose works make up about one half of the entire Digest. These two younger men later were also appointed to the post of praetorian prefect, and both were members of the imperial council of Alexander Severus. In the biography of that emperor it is stated that the good repute of the reign was due to the fact that the emperor depended largely on Ulpian's advice in the conduct of the government.

The work of the jurists dealt with every phase of the subject. The more or less mechanical ordering and systematizing of the law was carried to completion; but of greater significance was their influence in simplifying more and more the cumbersome legal procedure transmitted from the centuries past, and in bringing into new legislation principles of justice. For example, they recognized the people as the ultimate source of law. They stated that by nature all men are equal. To their influence probably was due Trajan's rescript that it was better for the guilty to go unpunished than for the innocent to be convicted. They established the principle that no man should be brought to trial twice on the same charge. For such principles they owed much to the long tradition of Roman justice, to growing humanitarian impulses, and not a little to the study of Greek philosophy. But to enter on the subject of sources and influences is beyond the scope of this paper.

BACKGROUND OF THE ROMAN REVOLUTION

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Whenever any person holds an opinion which is progressive, liberal, or anarchistic in its nature, or in any way contrary to the tenets of the conservatives or the reactionaries, he is denounced with all the epithets which denote radicalism or anarchism in vogue at the time. Thus, at the time of the French Revolution, to call a man a "democrat" was to heap on him the ultimate opprobrium which the upholders of the old order could invent. So also, we note that today a person, whose opinions are tinged with liberalism to the slightest extent, is very liable to be called a Bolshevik. In view of this situation we can easily understand how the adherents of the Gracchi, of Marius, of Cinna, and of Catiline appeared to the conservatives of their times.

Cicero describes Tiberius Gracchus as *mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae*—"causing the existing form of government to totter to some extent"; Spurius Maelius, who sold grain at reduced prices in a time of famine, was a revolutionist—*novis rebus studentem*. Gaius Gracchus was a dangerous character since he was disturbing the existing state of affairs (*rem publicam vexantem*). The expressions above mentioned no doubt meant to the Roman conservative everything that the modern citizen understands by the terms "revolutionist," "anarchist," "Bolshevist," and "undesirable citizen." The Gracchi, Catiline, and their followers were not "100 per cent" Romans.

A writer in the New Republic, a few years ago, enumerated the following list of conditions as favorable to Bolshevism in Russia:—"The unsettlement of national and individual life caused by the war; the indisposition of the people to go back to the old routine; the enormous profits which favored businesses (or individuals) made out of the war; the laggard treatment of wages and hours; the high cost of living; the appalling load of national debt in prospect; the replacement of democracy by a species of autoc-

racy or oligarchy in every democratic state; the reactionary temper and the inelastic mind of the intellectual, propertied, and office-holding classes." To these must be added hunger, unemployment, despair, and pessimism. Some of these conditions existed before the war. The war intensified and magnified them.

It can be successfully contended that the conditions of political, economic, and social life, which furnished the background of the Roman Revolution, 133-48 B.C., were quite similar in nature. Greenidge, in his *History of Rome*, Vol. I, devotes the first 99 pages to an exposition of these conditions and causes of unrest. Condensing his statements to the smallest possible space, we find that he assigns the following causes for unrest in the Roman State:—the burden of military service, the curse of debt, the hopeless poverty of the proletariat, the hunger for land, the striving of artisan and small merchant for better conditions of trade, the protest against monopoly of office of a dominant class, the grabbing of the public land by a few rich men, political bribery and corruption, the growth of luxury, and the reckless expenditure of money. We should also note that colonies were no longer being established which would have provided land for the discontented.

The rôle which new territory has played in history has not been thoroughly appreciated. Such land has afforded the discontented an opportunity of making a new start in life. A new location appeals strongly to the discontented man who is energetic and adventurous, and men of this type are the ones who are more liable to subscribe to reform and revolutionary movements, if they remain at home. We had no marked discontent in the United States as long as there was plenty of desirable land to be had by those who were dissatisfied with their lot. As soon as all of our public domain which was worth developing, was taken up, then we began to discover a discontented element among us.

The first four centuries of Roman history are characterized by a struggle between patrician and plebeian for political and social equality, and we observe that, during this period, Rome expanded very little, owing to the expenditure of energy on domestic quarrels and to the lack of harmony and cooperation of the various strata

of society. In fact, at times Rome was hard put to it to hold her own. This conflict was not terminated, but it was sufficiently allayed, by the Licinian Omnibus Bill of 367 B.C. intended to harmonize these discordant elements and to induce them to cooperate towards a common end. When once all the strata of Roman society were hauling at the same end of the rope, we observe that in about one century Rome had expanded over all Italy as far north as the Po River, and in about two more centuries she had crushed her chief rival (Carthage), and in another century she had acquired a vast empire on three continents.

Those very things which had brought about Rome's greatness were the ultimate causes of the downfall of the Republic. I mean that the harmony of the social orders made the great wars possible and the great wars brought ruin. The second war with Carthage, lasting 17 years, was a greater drain upon man power, in proportion to population, than was the drain upon any power which participated in the great war. It was also a great drain on treasure but Rome was not pressed under a staggering burden of taxation as a result of her wars, as is the case among modern nations. This exhausting war was followed by others—with Macedonia, Syria, &c.,—which were naturally unpopular at home but were unavoidable after Rome had once entered the arena of world politics.

During this period of expansion there was effected a new division of the population, made on the basis of wealth, a few nobles at the top, a middle class consisting largely of the small land-holders, and a great crowd of the poor, or the proletariat, as the Romans called them, who were not obliged to serve in the armies. This century of wars had gradually caused the middle class to disappear. If a man survived a campaign, he returned to his farm to find it grown up in weeds, his tools rusted and he was obliged to borrow money to get a new start. Soon he went into the army again or he lost his all under the operation of the cruel law of debt. The small tradesman and artisan faced the same situation. He became discouraged and moved to Rome, soon sank into the ranks of the submerged poor, and obtained a precarious living by selling his vote and by receiving plunder from

demagogues. These demagogues, like Caius Gracchus, bought the votes of this crowd by promising them grain from the national warehouses at half price. This proletariat had no patriotism, no feeling for country, and was naturally a menace to free institutions. It was ready to follow the man who bid the highest and it showed devotion and attachment to a man rather than to a principle.

The Second Punic War had greatly reduced the population. One-eighth of the whole population, which would probably be one-fourth of all liable to bear arms, were under arms during this war. In a similar way, the long wars of Charlemagne served to exhaust the free men of the middle class, so that after his time there remained only feudal lords and serfs. Besides losses in battles, there were losses in prisoners taken by the enemy. The Romans lost 20,000 at Drepanum, 6,000 at Thrasimene, 8,000 at Cannae, and many others in other engagements. They set free 20,000 in Africa, and others elsewhere who had been held as prisoners. They ransomed many. How many were lost permanently? The number must have been considerable, since the general practice was to enslave prisoners. Legionary soldiers spent from fifteen to twenty years in foreign countries. They had no families, or if they did, it was the result, in many cases, of marriage with native women, and after discharge, many of them remained in conquered territory. Caesar states that all the army of Gabinius stayed in Egypt. Livy states that 4,000 Romans were found in Carteia. Many other Romans were leaving Italy and taking up their residence elsewhere, not only as soldiers in garrisons, but also as traders and merchants. Mithridates massacred 80,000 Romans in Asia Minor.

Romans were being lost to Italy in the ways just enumerated. On the other hand, let us look at the stream of humanity flowing into Italy and taking the places of those others. I refer to the stream of captives of war, sold into slavery. Pompey and Caesar sold or slew 2,000,000 people. Cicero sold \$500,000 worth of captives in a few days. Marius brought to market 140,000 captives of the Cimbri. Paulus sold 150,000 Epirotes, and Scipio Aemilianus, 55,000 Carthaginians. Sometimes so many were

placed on the market that the price went down to seventy-two cents a head, as was the case in the camps of Lucullus.

Many of these captives were freed. We know that a special 5% tax on the value of every manumitted slave was collected; we know that this sum was set aside as a special fund and was not touched until the middle of the Second Punic War; we know that it then amounted to \$840,000, the accumulation of thirty to forty years. Taking the average value of slaves for this period, we see that somewhere around 3,000 slaves were freed annually during this period, and this was a time when slaves were not as numerous as they were later on.

Many slaves were freed and set up in business on an agreement to pay the former owner a certain sum or a certain proportion of their earnings, or to give a portion of the food they received in the public free distributions, and finally on condition that they will their former owners their property. Thus the manumission of slaves was engaged in for the profit derived from the practice, the free man having the incentive to produce more than the slave. In Cicero's time it was customary to manumit honest and industrious slaves after six years. There were so many *liberti* that Cicero says they formed the majority in his time in all the tribes. Political bosses scattered them through the tribes to control elections and other actions of the popular assemblies.

The slaves brought to Rome the vices of the effete Greek society and the vices of such barbarous communities as Thrace and Gaul. So Rome civilized the world but barbarized herself. Such a mob would be interested in its belly, ready to attach itself to the demagogue who promised it the most. Sallust says: "All was lost when there arose a generation who neither had patriotism themselves, nor would suffer others to have it." The Roman melting pot had received into it more than it could melt and fuse together. This situation, no doubt, contributed largely to the collapse of the Roman Republic and gives pause to thoughtful Americans who have seen in the last four years that our melting pot had not fused its ingredients to the extent that had previously been imagined.

A prosperous middle class can not exist with slavery, as has been amply demonstrated by later history as well as by ancient history. With the disappearance of the middle class, Rome lost a conserving force, which is typical of the middle class, generally known now as the "bourgeoisie." This class feels that it can not afford to subscribe to revolutionary movements because it runs the risk of losing more than it is likely to gain by a change, and this is the reason why extreme radicals hate the bourgeois element and seek to destroy it.

A middle class, of considerable size and weight, also serves as a check upon the noble class. In Rome, the nobility, set free from the restraint formerly imposed on them by the Plebeians of the middle class, whom they had to treat with consideration, now abandoned themselves to the licence of the new time.

The nobility were the office-holding class and no man could hold office unless he sold out to this group, as Cicero did, body and soul. The Senate, made up of ex-officials, lacked modern control of finance. The annual vote of supply, or at least of new expenses, is a guarantee of the liberties of a people and checks the extravagance of governments. But at Rome, there was no such check. The popular assembly did not concern itself with appropriations, did not examine accounts, had not control over the administrative department as our Congress has, and levied only one tax by law, so far as we know. The Roman Senate levied the amounts to be collected, almost entirely upon the provinces, and when senators committed frauds, their colleagues winked at their dishonesty. One of the causes of the fall of the Roman Republic was absence of financial control, the very thing which brought ruin to the French Monarchy. Our Constitutional Convention took care to provide that appropriation bills should originate in the House of Representatives, since this legislative body is regarded more closely to represent the citizens and to be more responsive to their will.

The official class controlled the courts. As long as grafting officials and governors, guilty of maladministration, were tried before their peers, who either made their pile or expected to make it when their turn should come, convictions were exceedingly rare. So modern nations, to avoid this ill, have tried to separate the judicial branch from the other branches of government.

The success or failure of the revolutionary movements at Rome was due to the sincerity and high-mindedness of their leaders and to the soundness of their programs, or to the absence thereof. The Gracchi were sincere in their land reform, although they did not realize that their program was destined to failure, since the small land owners could not compete with large slave operated plantations. The Gracchi did not know much about economic laws, but they were honestly trying to solve a problem which was troubling the thinkers of the time and which affected a large proportion of the whole population. Inasmuch as their program of land reform appeared reasonable and seemed to promise to be of benefit to a large class, it met with favor and the bill was passed. The entrenched interests, knowing that they had only to bide their time, appeared to bow to the will of the people and quietly waited until the masses had lost interest and ardor. When the Gracchan party had become somewhat disintegrated and were off their guard, a bill was slipped through which transferred the judicial powers of the Commission to the consuls.

About a generation later, the *populares*, supported by popular indignation over the failures of the government in the conduct of the wars against Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutons, had again made head and won some offices, but lacked a constructive program of reform and so enjoyed but a short tenure of power. In the succeeding period, the reins of government passed in rapid succession from one coterie to another, each one of which was seeking its own interest and advantage, giving little or no consideration to the welfare of the whole state.

As in Mexico, during the last ten years of the history of that unfortunate country, there have appeared a procession of leaders who announced hardly more than that they were opposed to the existing régime but who succeeded in attracting sufficient support to enable them to make headway against the government. The natives, on being asked what they were fighting for, replied that they were Maderistas, Huertistas, Carranzistas, Villistas, &c., as the case might be. They were adherents of men, not of principles or of programs. So in Rome, where, due to the failure of the melting pot to assimilate foreigners and to other conditions

already described, the discontented populace readily attached itself to the demagogue who made the strongest appeal to the belly.

Through the pages of Roman history there passes before our eyes a rather long and bewildering list of demagogues, some successful in attaining office, others unsuccessful, but when successful, by hook or by crook, not even stopping at murder, they showed little or no inclination of consulting the interests of the whole state. Having observed that the close corporation of the aristocracy had been conducting the government for the welfare of the few, these demagogues, when successful in attaining office, played the same game and stacked the cards to the benefit of their own small circle.

Such, then, was the situation, steadily growing worse,—the privileged few, now this crowd, now that crowd, battenning off the many. And one can not be surprised that the masses at times resort to force, when, in desperation and despair, they can see relief coming from no other quarter. There is a striking similarity in the causes of the Roman, the French, and the Russian Revolutions, which, reduced to their lowest terms, is simply the inflexibility of mind of the privileged classes, as Mr. Brooks Adams has so ably demonstrated in his "Social Causes of Revolutions." It is a trait of human nature for an individual or a group to try to hold fast to what they possess. They would rather fight for what they have at the risk of losing all than surrender peaceably what would be sufficient to allay the clamor of their opponents.

Generally, when a revolution comes and is successful in overturning the existing régime, the revolutionary party has no further program, since they had calculated no further than on overthrowing the previous order of things and of enjoying for themselves the benefits hitherto reaped by the dispossessed. When Marius seized Rome, he made the world safe for democrats. Then Sulla returned to the capital and made the world safe again for the aristocrats. Man after man appeared for about a century altogether, each one seeking his own interests and the interests of his followers until we come to the Caesars, Julius and Octavius, who felt the responsibilities of their positions and who were not so narrow minded as to fail to see that their own interests were best served by serving the interests of the whole state.

THE WORK OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME

M. N. WETMORE
Williams College

The many advantages to be enjoyed at the American Academy in Rome are well known, or at least they ought to be, for the Secretary in this country sends a leaflet or pamphlet each year to as many teachers as possible in the schools and colleges. College teachers in particular are expected to state the facts to their students. In most cases without doubt this is done, but I am inclined to think that the opportunities offered by the Academy are not in most cases as thoroughly described as they should be. Surely too few take advantage of these opportunities. The fact is, of course, that the notices sent out by the Secretary have to be brief. The majority of students, even of the good ones, on seeing these notices posted in the classroom will give them a hasty glance in passing and then straightway forget all about them.

The purpose of this brief article is not to say anything new. In fact, much reading in the course of a long life has shown me that "there is nothing new under the sun." I wish simply to talk about some of the activities of the Academy, in the hope that a much greater number of teachers than ever before may decide to avail themselves of these opportunities. "You can, if you will" is a proverb in the writer's town. It also seems to me that it would be wise for school, as well as college, teachers to bring these matters to the attention of their students and to set forth a year's work at the Academy as one of the goals for them to attain.

In the first place, the Academy is splendidly situated on the Janiculum Hill overlooking Rome and only twenty minutes' walk from the center of the city. The buildings are very fine and commodious, perfectly adapted to the needs of the school. The library is large and its volumes are extremely well chosen. All the most important books wanted are there. Four members of the teaching staff are permanent: Professor Albert W. Van Buren,

Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, Professors Orazio Marucchi, and Adolfo Venturi. Each one of them is a great authority in his field. All are most interesting and inspiring. In addition to these, two American Professors of distinguished ability and prominence are chosen each year, one as Professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies, the other as Annual Professor. During the year 1920-21 these positions were admirably filled by Professors Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University, and Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania. For the coming year Professors George M. Whicher, Hunter College, and Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, have been chosen for these positions. The permanent Director of the Academy is Professor Gorham Phillips Stevens, but his work is mainly confined to the School of Fine Arts and he gives no course in the School of Classical Studies.

The students and professors assemble on the first of October and work promptly begins. During the first two months, or more, so long as the good weather lasts, out of door things are the principal objects of study. The student's first duty, as well as pleasure, is, of course, to become acquainted with Rome and to get on speaking terms with its countless objects of interest and importance. We also remember that many other towns not far away fought with Rome for the supremacy of Italy. It is necessary to visit some of these places, to study their sites, and to try to learn why they failed, while Rome succeeded. Therefore, the year's work begins with two meetings each week in the Forum, on the Palatine, or at some other place within the city, and with one expedition to some neighboring town, or the site of one. The talks on the Forum, the Palatine, etc., are given by Mr. Curtis; Professor Van Buren conducts the out of town trips and tells all about the ruins and excavations. One of the main points that I wish to emphasize is that these lectures are delivered right on the spot, where the student can see all the remains of the various buildings, walls, columns, etc., standing or scattered about. The writer took college courses in archaeology long years ago. They were interesting and valuable. The professor used to exhibit, by way of illustration and to make the subject more alive, small

bits of marble, coins, and other relics that he had brought from Italy. Having visited Rome and been all over Italy many times, he was able to make the remains of ancient Rome and of Italy really exist before our mind's eye. That is all fine and as it should be, but it is quite a different thing to gaze upon all the great remains, while the lecturer is talking about them. And the next point is that we cannot talk in a really intelligent fashion about these things, unless *we* have seen them for ourselves. One of the chief criticisms made against us teachers of the Classics is, I believe, that we are not interesting. Our students find other subjects, not to mention the 'movies,' more exciting. The whole subject of what is wrong with our methods and with *us* in general is to be thoroughly investigated during the next three years by the experts appointed by the American Classical League; but surely we ourselves can do a vast amount toward making our subject more interesting and our teaching more efficient, without awaiting the League's report and recommendations.

A schedule that requires attendance upon only three lectures a week leaves a great deal of time apparently unoccupied. Really no time is thus left. In preparation for the out of town trips the students are expected to devote many hours to reading about the sites they are going to visit. Many references are given by the instructor, and the library is well supplied with volumes on the subject, enough to keep all students busy. Then, the students are expected to devote much time to "poking about" the city and to visiting out of town sites by themselves or in small groups. Rome contains so many things of importance that one could hardly investigate them all in the course of a full year's hard work. Evidently, Mr. Curtis cannot touch upon all of these in his lectures. How many years it would require to "do" all of Italy I could not even guess. Professor Van Buren's expeditions to one a week for a considerable portion of a year clearly does not exhaust the towns of Italy. The total of all the towns visited, either by the whole school or by the smaller independent groups, would make a very impressive list, and I know that each year practically the entire peninsula and the island of Sicily are covered.

When the bad weather of the rainy season comes, the regular courses of lectures at the Academy begin. There are many courses in various lines and much reading is required. Professor Magoffin in 1920-21 gave a series of lectures on Roman History *in* the Forum. What an impressive setting this is for such a course can easily be imagined. Professor McDaniel's lectures on Roman Life were amplified by visits to the museums, where he pointed out and described as many of the objects bearing upon this subject as time allowed. But even during the winter there is ample opportunity to see things in Rome or, on the free days, when the sky happens to be clear, to take out of town trips. Last winter, in addition to the regular courses, Professor George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, delivered six brilliant lectures on Roman Religion. Even on so abstruse a subject as religion, which cannot be illustrated by any exhibit, lectures make a much deeper impression when delivered within the walls of the Eternal City. An extra treat of this kind is to be expected, whenever an American professor capable of giving it happens to be in Rome.

In February, when the good weather is practically assured, the "personally conducted" little tours begin again, but they are not quite so regular, not so much time is given to them as in the fall, because each student who wishes to secure credit for work done at the Academy is then extremely busy in working up a paper on some special topic. One of the trips last spring was to Horace's Sabine Farm. Professor Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, has made a special study of this subject and this expedition was in her able hands.

On, or about, the first of April the whole school starts on a long tour, which completes the year's work. The Professor in charge of the School attends most efficiently to all matters of business; Professor Van Buren gives the lectures. A week is devoted to Pompeii and several days to Naples, especially the great museum there. During the time spent in this vicinity, two or three days are free for independent expeditions to Paestum, Sorrento, Capri, Misenum, Cumae, Vesuvius, etc. In April, 1921, the school was so fortunate as to hear several lectures *in* Pompeii by Professor Kelsey, the greatest living authority on the

buried city, now so largely excavated. Sicily is generally visited on this trip, I believe, but time could not be found for the whole school to do this in 1920-21. From Pompeii in this particular year the school went on, after a brief stop at Tarentum and Brundisium, to Greece, where two weeks were devoted to the Peloponnesus and two more to Athens and the rest of that country. Thus the year's work came to a close about the first of June, still leaving a good deal of time for independent sight-seeing, before it was necessary to sail for America, in order to get ready for the next year's courses in school or college.

As to the expense of living and travelling in Italy and Greece I cannot speak, and I think nobody can do so, with any degree of definiteness. The prices of everything seemed high during the year 1920-21, and at the time of my departure the Italians themselves expected prices to increase considerably during the coming year, to be followed by a steady decline thereafter. Since my return to America I have learned what really high prices are! Also, I have seen many statements in the newspapers that seem to show that prices have already declined in many particulars in Italy and have not advanced in any. However that may be, from my accounts, kept throughout the year, it is clear that living expenses during the year 1920-21 were lower in Italy than in the United States. This was largely due to the rate of exchange. The lira, which used to be worth about twenty cents, cost us, on the average, a little more than four cents, so that a pension rate of twenty-five or thirty lire a day is not so very terrifying after all. I have not the gift of a seer. In that particular Apollo has never inspired me. Nevertheless, I do believe that H. C. L. will continue to be less high in Italy than in France, England, or the United States.

For the benefit of teachers who cannot give up their work in America for a whole year, the officials of the Academy are considering the holding of a summer session, to be devoted for the most part, of course, to out of door work, during July and August. While one could not, in so short a time, do and see all that he would wish, still a great deal could be done and a deep inspiration gained even in these two months. Rome is one of the most

healthy cities in the world. By working only during the first half of the forenoon and the last half of the afternoon, keeping quiet in the middle of the day, I am sure that one could keep perfectly well and thoroughly enjoy Rome and Italy, even in these months. A summer session may be held in 1922. At any rate, it would be worth while for those who are interested to write at once about the matter to the Secretary, Mr. C. Grant LaFarge, 101 Park Avenue, New York City. If a considerable number of teachers should express a wish for such a course to be given next summer, I am confident that it would be arranged.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

WHOM DID THE GREEKS MEAN BY "THE POET"?

It is a common assertion, found in most hand-books, that whenever the Greeks said "the poet" they always meant Homer, hence poetic tags and random verses introduced by the phrase "as the poet says" are confidently assigned to Homer. When nothing corresponding to the quotation is found in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* the assumption follows that we are dealing with a reference to some lost poem which had been assigned to Homer.

A careful study of this matter has given me some surprising results. I shall illustrate by two writers from the classical period and two from Christian times.

In Aristophanes "the poet" generally refers to the comic poet himself, such as in *Acharnians* 633, 644, and *Knights* 509, 548, so also in other plays. Demosthenes uses this expression of Hesiod in *Or.* 19, 244, where two verses are quoted from *The Works and Days*. Sophocles is referred to as "the poet" 19, 347, since a long passage is quoted from the *Antigone*. A certain Xenocleides is given this designation in 19, 331 and in 59, 26. Oddly enough Demosthenes never refers to Homer as "the poet."

In later writers this expression is used to refer to any poet, Homer as well as the least significant. Lucian in *Nigrinus* (9) refers twice in a few lines to a certain writer of dramatic poetry as "the poet," while in *De Saltatione* (93) the same expression is used of Homer, where the *Odyssey* is quoted.

In Dio Chrysostom "the poet" is an absolutely undefined expression, since in *Or.* 36, p. 54 (Tuebner), the phrase is used of Phocylides, then soon with no indication of a change it is used of Homer. *Or.* 74. p. 255, the orator names "the poet" as author of a trochaic verse, then with no warning Homer is given the same designation and the *Iliad* is quoted. *Oration* 78, p. 285, has the words "as the poet says," then quotes three short lyric verses of a non-dactylic meter.

It is perfectly evident that the Greeks had no feeling for any one poet in the use of this phrase and that the sentence used in Harper's Dictionary under the word *Homerus* "Homer was to them 'the poet' (ὁ ποιητής) in a special sense" does not state the facts.

Homer was quoted more frequently than any other poet, hence he would be often called "the poet," but in proportion to the times quoted he seems to have that title no more exclusively than Hesiod or Xenocleides.

The Greeks were as impartial with their ὁ ποιητής as we are with the like expression in English, since it embraces all grades of versifiers.

JOHN A. SCOTT

PUTTING TROY IN A SACK

BY FRITZ G. LANHAM

Nothing pleases me more than the constant discovery of the spell the classics exert on people who are not scholars by profession. I have recently read a poem written by a student of the University of Texas, the theme of which is the outline of the Trojan Cycle. This poem begins with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and ends with the story of the wooden horse and the sack of Troy.

The meter differs for the different scenes and the melody fits the subject in a way to delight the reader.

Two quotations, taken almost at random, will give some idea of the style and the cleverness of the young poet.

When Paris came back with Helen he told a story about the rescue of this maid on a deserted island, and how he had found that she was also closely related to the family of Priam, "She's a cousin of mine."

King Priam just then was a very old head
Who always thought twice,—often three times instead;
For his noodle was gray and was known far and wide
For a whole lot of gray that it harbored inside.
(It was one you would readily choose in a group
As a noodle that seldom would get in the soup.)
And the more he reflected the less he could see
That Helen was what she purported to be,
And the more he suspected his son was no saint,
But a lad with heart trouble or kindred complaint.
For everywhere Helen would chance to appear
It was fifty to one that young Paris was near,
And he seemed to regard it a thing to be proved
That she as a cousin was not far removed.
Now Priam observed her both morning and night
(In a manner, of course, that was proper and right)
And he came to conclude that the maiden so meek
By talent and training was totally Greek.
So the notion of Priam was nipped in the bud
That she was a daughter of one of his blood,
For he thought from the things that he heard and he saw
She was very much more like a daughter-in-law.

The great scene in which Achilles is told of the death of his friend, Patroclus, is thus described by the modern Texas Homer:

When Achilles was told of his follower's fate,
It is needless to say that his sorrows were great;
And he wept like a willow
All over his pillow
And buried his head like a wild armadillo
Beneath all the sheets that he had on his bed
And the blankets and quilts that were over them spread.

He could not have mourned more if his debtors were dead.
 But his couch lacked the solace he sought for relief,
 Which was, namely, a comfort to cover his grief.
 All alone with his woes
 He could find no repose,
 While a pain in his heart held him fast in its throes
 And a counterpane surged from his head to his toes.

If Mr. Lanham happens to read this *Journal* he will know how much he has pleased one reader of his book and he will also read the wish that he may long continue to associate with Homer and the Muses.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

HOMER AND AESCHYLUS

Aristotle, (Poetics 1448b) believed that Homer wrote the *Margites* as well as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He does not ascribe any other poems to Homer, and we know too little of the *Margites* to decide why he selected it for such august company. However Aristotle belonged to the epoch of erudition and criticism, when literature itself became an object of study and research, instead of a creative art. How much further back does the belief go that Homer wrote other epic poems besides those that we have?

It is often said that it goes back as far as Aeschylus,—that is, almost to 500 B.C., and a passage from Athenaeus is quoted to prove it, (Deipnosophists, viii, 347e). This passage is assumed to contain a citation of Aeschylus to the effect that his tragedies were the leavings of the Homeric banquets. We are to understand that Aeschylus spoke as a reader of the Poetics might have spoken, to the effect that the epic is *πολύμυθος*, and that any one of the plots devised by the fertility of ancient imagination was enough for the modest needs of one of the Epigoni, like himself. And since most of the known plots of Aeschylus do not come from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, the necessary inference is that he must have thought the whole body of the heroic epic, the so-called Cycle, to be the work of Homer.

The entire passage of Athenaeus is as follows:

"So, too, our friend Ulpian, whom with my fellow-Megalopolitan, Cercidas, we might call the Pot-Fancier, appears to me to eat nothing that becomes a man, but to watch those who are eating to see if they have passed over any spine or any piece of hard meat or gristle from the food set before them; never considering the words of the noble and illustrious Aeschylus, who said that his tragedies were *τεμάχη* of the great Homeric banquets."

If we came to this passage without Aristotle in mind, or other prejudices, should we have thought of translating *τεμάχη* by *reliquiae*, "leavings" or any other word denoting unconsidered fragments of something larger and finer? On the contrary, Ulpian who is satisfied with the crumbs of a feast is expressly contrasted with Aeschylus who was not. The *οὐδ'* makes that clear, if nothing else did. The editor of the *editio princeps* saw this and substituted *ἀλλ' ὅ* preferring in his easy Renaissance fashion, an accepted meaning to the reading of the mss. But those who will not follow him in that,

must give a very different sense to *τεμάχη* from that which was evidently in his mind.

And indeed we are not dependent on this passage to discover the meaning of *τεμάχη*. It is not an uncommon word. All the old Greek lexica mention it, because its meaning is more specialized than its obvious etymology indicates. Not only is there no reason to suppose that the word has an exceptional meaning here, but there is a circumstance that makes such an exceptional use practically impossible. The word occurs only a few lines before in this very passage of Athenaeus, in the phrase *τὰ μεγάλα τεμάχη*, and in a context that leaves no doubt as to its meaning. It would be curious indeed, if, in the same paragraph, the same word were twice used in wholly contrary senses.

Aeschylus, accordingly, is not speaking in humility, but in pride. The common misconception of the phrase is not only untrue to the Greek spirit, but does especial violence to the traditional figure of Aeschylus, as he appears in the Frogs and in later anecdotes,—a vigorous, irascible, grandiloquent and combative person. Once, indeed, he is said to have told the Delphians, who wished him to write a paean for them, that the old paean of Tynnichus would suit their purpose better. But that was not because he thought the paean of Tynnichus better than his own, but because the rude and primitive character of the old poem seemed to him better adapted to a religious festival (Porphyry, *De Abstinētia*, ii, 18, p. 30, 33). To Dante and the Renaissance, the classical poets were unapproachable models, to be revered in awe and humility. To Aeschylus, Homer was a great epic poet, just as he knew himself to be a great tragic poet.

This is demonstrably the way later Greek writers understood this story. Eustathius who wrote his Homeric lexicon in the 12th century, says so expressly. (Ad Iliadem, Ψ, 256, p. 1298, 56.)

ὅς τις αὐτοῦ τραγῳδίας τεμάχη λέγων εἶναι τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δέλτων διὰ τὸ λαμπρῶς ἀπομάττεσθαι τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς μεθόδους, ὡς ποτε ἀδικῶς ἡττήθη, ἀνατιθεῖναι τὴν τραγῳδίαν ἐφ' ἡρόν.

So far we have been dealing with the passage, as though it were indubitably Aeschylean. But that is not so at all. Not the words, but the substance merely, is ascribed to Aeschylus. And neither words nor substance can come from the poet himself, who, as far as we know, left no memoirs or letters. The passage must have been taken from a book written about Aeschylus. There were a number of such books. Chamaeleon, the contemporary or pupil of Theophrastus, wrote one, and Heraclides, of about the same time, wrote on the three tragedians. This particular anecdote may well have come from Chamaeleon, who is often cited by Athenaeus for stories about Aeschylus. If it does, it stands on no better footing than the legends about his habitual inebriety and about his death.

Accordingly, the phrase that has been given such significance is, at best an anecdote concerning Aeschylus, written by a rhetorician two and a half centuries after him. We have not even the *ipsissima verba* of Chamaeleon, if it was he, so that the passage cannot be a citation for lexical purposes, an illustration of the word *τεμάχη*.

Now, what is the special meaning of *τεμάχη*, to which reference has been made before? It means large slices of fish. It is explicitly stated in this

very passage of Eustathius, and still more plainly by Phrynichus, *sab voce*, that any other use of the word is improper, and that it cannot be correctly applied to meat. Perhaps an imperfect analogy is presented by the English word "steak," which standing alone suggests "beef." The English word, however, occasionally and correctly, is extended to other meats. The Greek word, apparently,—if these grammarians are accepted as authorities, ought to be confined to fish. In historical Greece, fish was the principal food of gourmets. The large fishes were the *pieces de resistance* of luxurious banquets. Athenaeus is himself one of the principal witnesses to this, although all Greek literature tells the same story. There is however one conspicuous exception. That is Homer. His heroes do not eat fish, except when driven to it by dire necessity. This great variance between Homeric custom and that of later Hellas was well-known and often commented upon. Plato speaks of it in the Republic, (iii, 404 bc). Plutarch notes it in De Iside et Osiride, (viii, 8, 3). It is hard to believe that the erudite gluttons at the table of Larnesius did not have this fact in mind. To them, consequently, the statement that Aeschylus' tragedies were the "fish-courses" of the Homeric banquet, carried the point that at the Homeric banquets Homer himself used no fish courses. This, to be sure, is rather heavy jocularity. But the Deipnosophists were not serious persons, but deplorably frivolous ones, and their jesting is apt to be of this order.

Professor Scott, (Class. Journ. xvii, pp. 303-305) first called attention to the current misconception of the words. However, even the correct rendering of *τεμάχῃ* does not altogether exclude the hypothesis that Aeschylus-Chamaeleon (?) ascribed the whole Cycle to "Homer." If Homer is thought of as the giver of the feast, it might be argued that he offered his guests choice bits from the food of which he himself partook. But *Θυέστων δείπνα*, "Thyestean banquets," means banquets served to Thyestes, not by him. And by analogy, *Ὅμηρου δείπνα* would mean feasts to which Homer was invited. If then, we keep in mind the probably jocose implications of the word *τεμάχῃ* in such a story, we may understand the passage as stating that, when all the food of the Muses, to-wit, all the myths of the various cycles, was spread before Homer, he contented himself with a limited fare, and unaccountably omitted the fish-courses, the *τεμάχῃ*, altogether, leaving these to be taken by later arrivals, such as Aeschylus.

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BERKELEY, CALIF.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Los Angeles.—Friday afternoon, January 13, the Latin Club of the Los Angeles High School gave a Roman banquet in the school cafeteria. Forty-eight guests, garbed in Roman costume, sat down at the U-shaped table and were served by six *servi* chosen from the first-year class. Place-cards with the Latinized names of the guests, a menu in Latin and Latin songs helped to create the classical atmosphere. At the proper time the mixing bowl was brought in and was crowned with a garland by the *magister bibendi*, who offered a Latin invocation. The offering to the Penates was duly made and the guests were entertained by a dancing girl, a recitation from the *Aeneid* and several toasts. The gorgeous peacock which graced the board must not be forgotten. The high degree of success achieved was due to the labors of a host of committee workers under the direction of Miss McPherron and Miss Peyton, teachers in the Latin department.

In this school the Cicero class has produced a short novel with the Catilinarian conspiracy as its central theme. A committee outlined the plot and the different chapters were assigned to individual students to be worked out in detail. The young people ransacked the available authorities for local color and proper setting. The result, a very creditable production, is appearing as a serial in the *Nuntius*, the semi-monthly paper published by the students of the Latin department.

Pasadena.—The departments of Latin, French and Spanish of the Pasadena High School gave an entertainment on December 9 under the title "Foreign Frolics." From the Latin department a chorus of thirty boys and girls in Roman costume sang Latin songs. Then came three tableaux, Ceres bearing the horn of plenty, Cupid and Psyche, and the three Fates. The main part of the program was a play in Latin in four scenes, dealing with the assassination of Caesar. The scenery was made by the students of the department. The audience united in declaring the whole performance a most successful one.

The main feature of the Christmas program of the Classical Association of Southern California was an instructive and inspiring address upon the teaching of Latin, by Dr. Flavel Luther, for many years President of Trinity College. Professor W. D. Ward, of Occidental College, is president of the Association, and Miss Anne E. Edwards, of the Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, is secretary.

Colorado

Colorado Springs.—The Colorado College Classical Club was organized at an informal meeting of students of Greek and Latin held at the home of Professor Mierow on the evening of November 18. The proceedings on that occasion consisted of classical conundrums and games, special music by a group of girls, who sang a number of Latin songs, and the reading of an article by John Finley of the editorial staff of the New York Times on "Our Need of the Classics." For the Christmas meeting of the club the committee provided a true Yule-tide setting with Christmas tree and an open fire on the hearth; and the exercises of the evening were all in keeping with the season. Miss Lillian Sullivan read a paper on the Roman *Saturnalia* and its survivals in modern Christmas observances. Mr. John Duniway read a poem on the first Christmas day. Special music was furnished by the Girls' Mandolin Club and by Mr. Harry Taylor, who sang a medieval Christmas carol, *Dies est Laetitiae*, and a Latin version of *Stille Nacht*. The entire club joined in the singing of *Adeste Fideles* and *O Abies, O Abies* and "Jingle Bells" with its musical chorus of:

*Tinnit, tinnit, tintinnabulum,
Labimur in glacie, post mulum curtum!*

Massachusetts

Greenfield.—Miss Florence C. Allen, Head of the Latin Department in the Greenfield High School, tells of the vital interest in Latin existing among the students, which led to the planning and successful conduct of a "Roman Circus," called *Ludi Honorarii et Circenses*, by the juniors of the school, in which the seniors and sophomores took active part, the freshmen and faculty attending as guests of honor.

At the appointed hour on the tenth of December the heralds called together the assembly, after which a parade began, and, led by a band of "tuba" players, the school song was sung in Latin. Followed the offering of a sacrifice, and a hymn to Diana and Apollo. After this came the games, *Sagittariae*, *Pancratium*, *Discobulae*, chariot-racing, etc. The full and interesting description written by a sophomore who is one of the editors of the School Notes for a local paper, the Greenfield Recorder, shows clearly that the spirit of the old Roman sports had been caught by the students, although modern conditions demanded the exercise of modern ingenuity in their performance. The chariots used in the race were cleverly constructed from barrels and tricycle wheels! Members of the school, although not organized as a club, meet from time to time to sing songs in Latin; and the evening before the Christmas holidays began, twenty-five of the young people carrying lighted candles sang Christmas carols in Latin beneath the windows of the faculty.

Cambridge.—A joint meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Boston and the Eastern Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England was held at Harvard University on Feb. 11, with the following program: A Word of Welcome, Mr. F. A. Tupper, Head Master of the Brighton High School, President of the Section; "Futuristic Farming," Miss Eva M. Sanford, Radcliffe College; (subject not announced), Miss Marion Park, Dean of Radcliffe College; "The Three Electras," Dr. F. B. Lund, Boston; "Greece of Yesterday and Today," (lantern talk), Miss Emma G. Cummings, Brimmer School, Boston; "Two recent Acquisitions: a gold libation bowl from Olympia and an Athenian terra cotta from Egypt" (lantern talk), Dr. L. D. Caskey, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Since the beginning of the new year two meetings of the Reading Section of the Classical Club have been held in the Classical Library of Boston University. At the first Dr. Lund gave his translation of the *Antigone*, and at the second, Professors Rice and Cameron of Boston University translated the *Phormio*.

New Jersey

Bloomfield.—The Northern New Jersey District Meeting of the New Jersey State Classical Association, held in the Bloomfield High School at 10 A. M., Saturday, January 14, was unusually successful. The guests were welcomed by Mr. Edgar S. Stover, Principal of the Bloomfield High School, and the Classical teachers.

The program of the meeting was as follows: Address of Welcome, Mr. George Morris, Superintendent of Schools, Bloomfield; "A Flourishing Latin Club," Miss Maude C. Gay, Latin Club and Latin Department, Bloomfield; "The Virgil Problem," Mr. George Putnam, Montclair; "By-Products of High School Latin," Miss Isabel Holmes, Summit; "Success with First Year Latin," Miss Edna White, Jersey City; "Ancient Pompeii, Its Life and Art," with lantern slides. The lecture was loaned by Dr. Perley O. Place of Syracuse University and was illustrated by slides from his own photographs. This illustrated lecture was read by Mr. Edson T. Lawrence of the Latin Department of the Bloomfield High School.

The Latin Club, under the direction of Miss Schaufler of the Manual Department, assisted in serving the elaborate luncheon, carrying out the color scheme of the club in the purple and gold decorations which included Latin menu cards designed and printed by members of the club.

Millville.—Miss Elizabeth S. Kates sends in the following account of a unique Latin party. "The Latin classes of the High School in Millville had a Latin party. Each class provided a number for the program, but concealed the nature of its number until the appointed evening. By parliamentary procedure, each class developed its sketch. All of the Latin used was translated by the pupils from original English compositions. The teacher's share was correction of the manuscripts and supervision of rehearsals. The classes used freely suggestions made by the *Classical Journal*. At the suggestion of a pupil, over fifty percent of all classes, except beginners, purchased copies of Hill's Vest Pocket Latin-English, English-Latin Dictionary, in order to aid translation of the sketches.

The following program, which had fifty speaking parts, created much merriment:

1. A Living Word Contest. First semester Freshmen.

Two rival lines faced each other. Each pupil had two cardboard letters of the alphabet, one in each hand. When the chairman called an English word, the pupils who held the letters needed in the Latin translation stepped in front of their lines. The side forming the word first scored a point. This contest continued for ten minutes.

2. A Mystery Story. Second semester Freshmen.

Each pupil had a list of Latin adjectives in the three degrees. The chairman had a story written in English, using the names of certain upper classmen. Before each name was a blank space. The chairman asked the group to supply adjectives, stating what gender was needed, until all the blanks were filled. He then read the story with its ludicrous combinations of names and adjectives.

3. Sketch: The Difficulties of a Teacher. First semester Sophomores.

In Latin this group presented a school scene, with different types of pupils caricatured. In spite of the rapid conversation in Latin, the acting made it easy to follow the punishment of the stupid, and the reward of the model pupils.

4. Dialogue: The Hat Sale. First semester Sophomores.

The Latin arguments of the clerk and of the fussy customer were enlivened by the grotesque hats used in the setting.

5. Farce: The Trials of the Trio. Second semester Sophomores.

This scene was written by the class in English; but in each sentence all familiar constructions, like indirect discourse, were put into Latin. The novel result, part in English, part in Latin, held the attention of the audience.

In the story, three singers are arrested and tried for disturbing the peace. This trial gives a chance for the trio to sing some popular songs in Latin.

6. Sketch: The Conspirators Before Cicero. First semester Juniors.

The class dramatized in Latin that interview between Cicero and the conspirators which is described in the Third Oration against Catiline.

7. Sketch: Are you Superstitious? Second semester Seniors.

Using the device of a sewing circle with superstitious members, the group showed the similarity between Roman and modern superstitions. This was given in English. References to current newspapers and magazines proved the modern belief in luck.

8. Sketch: Conundrums. First semester Seniors.

In a humorous recitation these pupils used the question and answer method to develop conundrums. Their originality is seen in these samples. (a) Why is the *-re* of the present infinitive like an apple? Ans.—Because it belongs on the stem. (b) Why is *fero* like the Maurice River? Ans.—Because it is irregular. (c) Why are Latin verbs like love letters? Ans.—Because they are in tense and have personal endings.

At the close of the last number all the classes joined in the Flag Salute, in Latin, and "Te cano, Patria."

North Dakota

According to data recently secured the enrollment in foreign languages in the Certified High Schools of North Dakota for 1918-19 and 1919-20 was as follows:

	1918-19	1919-20	Increase
Latin	2138	2528	390
French	1167	1306	139
Spanish	209	255	46
German	48	67	19
Norse	400	177	223(loss)
Total	3962	4333	371

The increase in Latin was greater than the total increase.

Tennessee

Sewanee.—The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at the University of the South, February 24 and 25. The papers of special interest to students of the classics were as follows: "Thucydides: A Study," J. B. Edwards, University of the South; "The Influence of Oriental Philosophy in Greek Thought," T. C. Johnson, Webb School; "Some Imitative Latin Words," E. L. Johnson, Vanderbilt University; "Famous Literary Forgeries, Both Serious and Playful, in Ancient and Modern Times," President R. S. Radford, University of Tennessee; "The Modern Greek Newspaper and the Greek Professor," by David R. Lee, University of Tennessee; "The Ideal Commonwealth in Literature," Robert C. Beale, Southwestern Presbyterian University; "Est Et Non," C. E. Little, George Peabody College for Teachers; "Roman Elements in Vergil's Aeneid," R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University.

The list of officers of the American Philological Association elected for the ensuing year was inadvertently omitted from the account of the annual meeting in the February number of the *Journal*. The officers are as follows:

President, PROF. F. G. ALLINSON, Brown University;
 Vice-Presidents, PROF. EDWARD K. RAND, Harvard University,
 PROF. SAMUEL E. BASSETT, University of Vermont;
 Secretary-Treasurer, PROF. CLARENCE P. BILL, Western Reserve University;
 Executive Committee, (in addition to above): PROF. DUANE REED STUART,
 Princeton University, DR. RICHARD M. GUMMERE, William
 Penn Charter School, DEAN ROY C. FLICKINGER, North-
 western University, PROF. GORDON J. LAING, McGill Uni-
 versity, PROF. FRANK COLE BABBITT, Trinity College.

In Memoriam

TRACY PECK OF YALE, 1838-1921

Tracy Peck, born in Bristol, Conn., May 24, 1838, graduate of Yale, 1861, student at Berlin and Bonn, 1861-3, Professor of Latin at Cornell and Yale, 1871-1908, Emeritus, 1908, died suddenly on November 24 in Rome, his residence for thirteen years. His interment, for which, with character-

istic thoughtfulness, he had left precise directions some weeks before with Consul-General Keene, took place on November 28, in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome. Professor Peck first saw Italy and Rome in 1868, in Garibaldian times, and made a pilgrimage to Cicero's home, at that time no easy undertaking. In 1898, he was Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, on Via Gaeta, fifteen years before its union with the American Academy of Art in the present palatial building on the Janiculum. It was my good fortune at that time to be in the School as Fellow of the Archaeological Institute of America, and I remember Director Peck for the quiet ability with which he discharged his duties, for the dignity with which he represented his profession and his country, for his devotion to learning, for his love of Rome and Italy, ancient and modern, for his broad humanity, for his humor, for his kindly sympathy and encouragement, for the hospitality of himself and his family, and for his forbearance. Since 1908, with the exception of short and infrequent visits to America, he had lived continuously at Rome. After the great earthquake of Messina in December, 1908, he became responsible for the support and education of an orphaned little girl. He was possessed to the end by the noble enthusiasm for Rome and for classical letters with which he began his long career as teacher, editor, and scholar. He studied and wrote even after the three score years and ten. In January, 1913, I heard him deliver, before the Archaeological Society at Rome, a lecture, afterward published, on the Diary of Pius II, a rare copy of which he finally obtained after many years of waiting. His enthusiasm for the Diary was still burning when I made him my last call on the Sunday before his death. Two days before it, he visited the library of the American Academy to study a large bronze of Marcus Aurelius which he had recently acquired. The frequent and finely composed letters to his daughter in America, covering the period of the war and continuing to the last, were marvels of accurate observation, breadth of interest, and appreciation, and would make interesting print for those who acknowledge Rome as their country and the city of their souls. It is a deeply impressive circumstance that this venerable New Englander and veteran lover of Rome should have come to his peaceful end at the close of Thanksgiving Day and be laid to eternal rest in Eternal Rome.

GRANT SHOWERMAN, *American Academy in Rome*

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

The aim of this department is to furnish teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be answered in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.

Latin and English

The importance of famous Latin quotations and mottoes which have a vogue in English has been generally recognized in recent beginning books, which give a considerable number of them. A teacher who wishes his name withheld describes an excellent method of presenting new quotations:

I have been using a device that has worked surprisingly well, though I do not suppose it is new. I put on the assignment sheet every day something like this:

Prize translation:

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

The pupils understand that the boy who brings in the most literary and at the same time of course accurate written translation is given a prize of five per cent addition to his grade. The element of competition stimulates interest and produces real effort which is beneficial to their English as much as to their Latin, if not more so. They enjoy hearing one another's translations, and enter into the literary discussion with unaffected zest. I think three to five minutes a day on this is well worth while. One is surprised how many points of grammar, rhetoric, history, and geography are touched on. Moreover, some of the mottoes are remembered as type sentences.

Third Semester Latin

In answer to my inquiry in the "Hints" several teachers have expressed a high opinion of "Fabulae Faciles" as a preparation for Caesar. Mr. Alvah T. Otis, of the White Plains, New York, High School, states that in accordance with the New York syllabus they read "The Argonauts" before taking up Caesar. He continues:

After five years' experience under this syllabus I am enthusiastic over the change. I only wish that time permitted us to read all the "Fabulae Faciles" before beginning Caesar. They are extremely interesting to the youngsters (far more so than Caesar); they are most carefully written so that the syntax is graded and the same expressions repeated until they become fixed. The vocabulary and idioms are most helpful in the Caesar work.

Miss Edith M. Sanford, of the New Haven, Conn., High School, writes in a similar vein, but she has been using the book in the first year by a method of her own.

On the other hand a young teacher who tried "*Fabulae Faciles*" one year thinks the vocabulary a better preparation for Virgil than for Caesar. Another teacher who tried "*Viri Romae*" one year thought that the pupils found it more difficult than Caesar.

Granted that "*Fabulae Faciles*" is the best or one of the best sources of material for the third semester now available, the question arises whether something better yet may not be conceivable. It is certainly true that no substitute for Caesar in the third semester has found anything like general acceptance. Some of the desiderata in respect to the reading matter are clear: simple vocabulary, forms and syntax, careful grading, interest, valuable and varied content. When we get agreement on what we want some one will be found to provide it.

The Value of Latin

One of the bibliographies planned for this department was on the value of Latin. Fortunately I have been saved the work of compiling it by the appearance of a "Bibliographic Monograph on the Value of the Classics," prepared by Professor G. D. Hadzsits and Mr. L. R. Harley. A copy of this excellent and exhaustive pamphlet of thirty-six pages may be obtained for ten cents from Professor G. D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Translation English

Mr. A. P. McKinlay, of the University of California, Southern Branch, writes:

Your columns of recent date voice the very general lament that students translate without knowing very much about the thought of the passage. I handle the problem as follows:

At the first session of the class I dictate the following outline as an approach to translation:

Read the sentence through in Latin:

I. Bracketing all subordinate clauses.

II. Underlining all main verbs.

III. Noting coordinate conjunctions with the words they connect.

IV. Noting all participles with the words they modify.

It will probably be necessary to dictate an outline for subordinate clauses: noun, adjective, adverb, with the most common introductory words.

After the preceding method of approach is fairly well in hand, I then dictate to the class outlines in sentence coherence and unity, together with some good rules for punctuation. [These outlines and rules are such as are found in English manuals.] I have the students procure duplicate sets of uniform notebooks. They thereafter write out and turn in complete translations of the lesson, usually the review. I look over a portion of the notebooks each day, enough to secure material for board work the following day. I mark errors: *U*, for unity; *C*, for coherence; *E*, for form; *Sp*, for spelling; *P*, for punctuation; *G*, for grammar; *D*, for diction; and *K*, for awkward.

The next day the sentences with the most characteristic errors are put on the board; the mistakes are identified from the outlines and corrected.

Experience has proved this method a sure cure for nonsense translations. Of course it is not necessary to go into other advantages, for they are obvious. In

college classes so much progress is made in two weeks that readers are astonished. Teachers who pretend to do any paper work at all will find this method least exacting of time and reserve force.

The following story illustrates what the method can do. A lad had finished a secondary school. He had had four years of Latin. He wanted to enter college. His teachers refused to recommend him for the examinations, for he was one of those who could never make anything but nonsense translations. The boy was in earnest. He went to his Latin instructor to get his services as coach. The instructor told him it was no use. Finally he went to his chemistry teacher and told him he had to coach him. After much persuasion the teacher yielded. Each day he assigned a passage in advance, one in oral review, and one to be written out. The boy struggled and persevered. Finally things began to clear up till at last he got the hang. Things made sense. He passed the college entrance examinations with credit.

Most teachers will balk at the amount of written work to be examined according to the above method. The method cannot help but succeed, however, at least in part, as it utilizes the best practices of the English classroom. It is well for every teacher to require an occasional written translation, at least, and to force the students to apply the rules which they have presumably learned in the English class.

Latin and Golf

Some readers will recall the clever Latin verses on golf which Payson S. Wild (P. Sibleius Ferus) wrote some years ago for the "Line o' Type or Two" of the *Chicago Tribune*. Another golfing Latinist, one of the most famous scholars of Great Britain, W. M. Lindsay, has connected his vocation and his avocation in an amusing "Examination Paper in Golf," excerpts from which are given in the *Periodical*, an advertising medium published by the Oxford University Press. Some of the questions may be used to liven up a class or Latin club meeting. I quote a few questions:

5. (1) Inutile cingor ferrum—'I take the iron, but it's of no use.'
- (2) Tres super; unus adhuc—'Three up and one to play.'
- (3) Lydia, dormis—'L., you're dormy.'

In what matches were these words uttered, and by whom?

6. What criticism can you offer on Caesar's method of negotiating the Rubicon water-hazard?
7. Describe the Seven-Hill course at Rome. How far was it improved by (1) the Agger of Servius Tullius, (2) Curtius' bunker in the Forum?
8. Discuss the propriety of the following renderings:
 - (2) Permittere ventis—'To allow for the wind.'
 - (5) Miscuerunt herbas et non innoxia verba—'They raised a cloud of turf and unparliamentary language.'

A free copy of the *Periodical* for September, 1921, containing the above, may be obtained by writing to the Oxford University Press, 29 West 32d St., New York.

Latin Composition

Miss Essie Hill, of the Little Rock, Ark., Senior High School, describes a method which seems to have some good features:

On the regular day for composition, the sentences are written on the board in English at the first part of the period. The better plan is to have the sentences on the board in English by the time the class assembles.

A few minutes are set aside at the first of the period for questions by the pupils in regard to any difficulties encountered in the preparation of the lesson. The sentences are then assigned to different pupils to be written in Latin. If there is not room for all at the board, let some work at their seats.

After the writing of the sentences, the pupils take their seats and look on while the work is corrected with colored crayon by two or three pupils under the supervision of the teacher, or they may correct the work by exchanging places at the board.

Then the Latin sentences are erased and individual work is done on paper at their seats. This consists of two or three sentences from the list that have been written at the board, assigned to be written in English and Latin.

The teacher may make such re-formations or combinations as she desires, usually bringing in some points that have been the subject of discussion and that need special attention.

These papers are handed in at the end of the period, and on them the succeeding lessons of this sort are written. I try to grade these papers each week and put them in the hands of the pupils the day before the day for composition, so that they may see the mistakes in their work of the week before and so not make similar mistakes for the following lesson. At the end of the month or quarter, they have all their work before them corrected and graded so that they can observe their improvement or delinquency.

The skill of the teacher will be shown in the "re-formations and combinations" mentioned above. They strike me as extremely important.

Miss Hazel Murray, of the same school, describes a method particularly suitable for small and somewhat advanced classes:

Its principal advantages are that it necessitates individual work, puts a premium on speed and accuracy, and is universally liked. The method is this: I write the sentences on separate slips of paper and send the class to the board, handing each member a slip. He writes a sentence, submits it for approval, corrects it if necessary, and exchanges his slip for another, until he has finished the assignment or the time is up. My best pupils will write fifteen sentences (my usual assignment) in the time allotted (half an hour), the poorer pupils, six or eight. There is great rivalry both for speed and accuracy and composition day seems actually to be anticipated with pleasure.

At present I am teaching composition to five Cicero classes—how this system might work in Caesar and beginning classes I cannot say, except that Miss Harvey at the Arkansas State Normal has tried it with a beginning class and likes it.

This is an excellent way of combining the advantages of individual and class instruction and of taking care of the sadly neglected superior pupils.

Miss Pullen's plan of devoting a week at a time to composition, as described in the December "Hints," is endorsed by two experienced teachers, Miss Edith M. Sanford, of the New Haven, Conn., High School, who has used it for about 15 years, and Mr. Alvah T. Otis, of the White Plains, N. Y., High School, who writes:

The idea of teaching Latin composition for a solid week in second, third and fourth year classes, to the exclusion of any other work for that week, has long been my

practice. I am glad to know that some one else has the bravery to confess to it publicly, for I have never met a teacher who does this. Even as a pupil, in a city high school, I used to criticize silently the plan of having composition "every Friday," which was the custom. There is no continuity possible after such an interval. A week is a thousand years in the life of a child. Taken this way, composition is handled enthusiastically by the pupils, and groans are always forthcoming when I announce that we return to translation for the following week.

In general, I find myself giving less and less faith to the task of "composing" in Latin. I begin to feel that the pupils who translate readily great quantities of Latin will have little difficulty with reasonable composition requirements, even though they get no great amount of practice in it. On the other hand, a pupil who never attains facility in reading does not improve his composition by ever so much practice.

The Friday composition plan mentioned above recalls the remark of a young and very earnest Latin teacher that she remembered distinctly that there was one day in every week when she wanted to die: that was "composition day."

Miss Sanford writes further:

I have found the most satisfactory method of testing the pupils' knowledge of a composition lesson to be the writing from memory of the whole lesson by each pupil in the manner of a test. I place all the English sentences on the board and the pupils write the Latin. These papers are graded the same as a test and returned to the pupils.

Mr. J. S. Fleet, of Culver Military Academy, suggests the following method:

My plan consists in assigning the grammar references which will cover the points to be mastered. The following day the shortest possible sentences, illustrating these constructions, are then given, with very limited time for the writing. These are glanced at and the difficulties that they indicated are underlined. The papers are then handed back. An explanation is made at once of these points with oral and written illustrations. This will take from ten to fifteen minutes including the dictation of two or three short sentences which are to be written by the pupils as part of the next day's assignment. When the work is brought on the following day, they pass in line by my desk, deposit their sentences and rewrite them from dictation, passing again by my desk for correction. A mark under a word to indicate an error or a circle around one to show mistaken position takes but a moment, and they return with the paper to their seats to correct the errors by writing the proper form above the word underlined. A failure to make the proper correction means a return to their seats for another attempt. If within a reasonable time the mistake is not corrected, the pupil receives an invitation to attend my "matinee performance" for the needed explanation and correction.

The result is certainly alertness, close attention, a desire for accuracy and a dependence upon themselves, which together form the basis of any success in transferring ideas to so highly an inflected language. Writing is thus a part of every day's work and the results have more than justified the method. It brings about in many cases, an apparently automatic performance in which the writing is done as rapidly and as accurately as when copying English sentences from the board. This plan is not adapted to a class of more than twelve or fifteen unless a full sixty minute

period can be utilized. Let no teacher undertake this method who is not willing to put 100% of highly concentrated energy into that ten or fifteen minute period.

Guiding Principles

It is useful for the teacher to formulate certain general principles. Among others contributed by Mr. W. J. Buck, of the Western Military Academy, Alton, Ill., are the following:

1. Prepare and think through each day's lesson for your classes to the minutest detail.
2. Check your deductions of progress from day to day.
3. Repeat and keep on repeating the essentials: declensions, conjugations and vocabularies.
4. Impress upon your classes that Latin is essential to the study of all modern languages.
5. Conduct your recitation so that vocabulary, grammar, reading (translation), composition, points of history and interest, and derivations become an interwoven whole.
6. In your daily assignment give directions not only as to *what* preparation, but mainly as to *how* the preparation is to be made.

Books on Caesar, Cicero, and Virgil

The following list may be supplemented from that given in the last number. The abbreviations used are the same.

CAESAR

- Fowler, W. W., *Julius Caesar*. P. \$2.50.
 Dodge, T. A., *Caesar*. H. M. \$10.00.
 Holmes, T. R., *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*. ed. 2. O. \$9.60.
 Holmes, T. R., *Ancient Britain and Julius Caesar*. O. \$8.40.
 Judson, H. P., *Caesar's Army*. G. \$1.36.
 Davis, W. S., *A Friend of Caesar*. M. \$2.00.

CICERO

- Boissier, G., *Cicero and His Friends*.
 Petersson, T., *Cicero*. University of California Press. \$5.00.
 Strachan-Davidson, J. L., *Cicero*. P. \$2.50.
 Taylor, H., *Cicero*. ed. 2. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. \$5.00.

VIRGIL

- Sellar, W. Y., *Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil*. ed. 3. O. \$4.75.
 Glover, T. R., *Virgil*, M.
 Comparetti, D., *Virgil in the Middle Ages*. M.

Book Reviews

Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur. BY DIEDRICH FIMMEN. Teubner: Leipzig and Berlin, 1921. Pp. VI+226, 203 illustrations.

The interesting and absorbing task of collecting, classifying and interpreting the remains of pre-Grecian civilization—commonly comprised under the term Aegean Culture—has, during the past fifteen years, fallen, in the main, to the lot of English scholars. This may be explained by the fact of the remarkable activities of the English archaeologist, Sir Arthur Evans, in his excavations conducted in Crete, and by the unusual degree of interest manifested in this branch of research by the British School at Athens. The work of this institution has been resumed and is indeed being prosecuted with fresh fervour since the termination of the war, particularly on the site of the ancient Mycenae (See the article, *Excavations at Mycenae*, by A. J. B. Wace, Director of the School, in *The Times (London) Literary Supplement*, October 13, 1921, page 660). During the current year, however, two books on the subject of Aegean civilization, of more than ordinary importance, have been published almost simultaneously in Germany. I refer to the *Alt Kreta* of Helmuth Th. Bossert and to the *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* of the late Diedrich Fimmen.

This posthumous work has been brought before the public under the superintendence of Georg Karo who, in a brief Foreword, sketches the career of this brilliant and promising young scholar who fell a victim to Ares just as he had completed his thirtieth year. Born in 1886, Fimmen received his early training at the Gymnasium at Wilhelmshaven. Thence he proceeded to Tübingen and Berlin, and presently to Freiburg where he studied under Thiersch, publishing in 1909 a dissertation on the subject—*Zeit und Dauer der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (Teubner: Leipzig, 1909). After a further period of study under Loeschcke at Bonn, Fimmen secured a travelling-fellowship which enabled him to visit Greece and Italy. On his return to Germany he was obliged to submit to his year of training in military service, but on the expiration of this term in 1912, he returned to the German Institute at Athens, where he remained as Assistant till the outbreak of the war in 1914.

Fimmen appears to have been successful as a soldier. Wounded in the second month of the war, during the fighting on the western front, he was on his recovery promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. He was presently dispatched to the eastern front, where he witnessed the defeat of the Russian armies in 1915 and their amazing revival the following summer. Being transferred from his post in Galicia in November, 1916, he joined the Austro-German force which overran Roumania. While on the march to Bucharest, he fell in action on Christmas Eve—a few months after the distinguished English archaeologist, Guy Dickins, had died of wounds received in the fighting on the Somme.

During his sojourn in Greece, Fimmen had been preparing the material for a work on Aegean culture, and he apparently devoted much of his spare

time in periods of inactivity on the Russian front and during furloughs to the completion of his labour. Before his death, a large portion of the text was in the printer's hands, and the remainder was all but ready for publication. Truly a remarkable example of devotion, under the most trying circumstances, to the claims of scholarship!

A comparison of the *Alt Kreta* of Bossert with the *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* reveals a striking similarity in respect to the subject matter and to the size of the volumes. There the likeness ends. The chief value of the former work lies in its fine photographic illustrations; in the latter, illustration is altogether subsidiary to text. They therefore provide excellent complements one to the other.

Manifestly, it is quite impossible, in a brief review, to present more than the merest summary of the *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*. The book opens with a very valuable catalogue of the "culture stations" of the pre-Greek civilization in the western Mediterranean. The lists furnished by Furtwängler and Loeschke (in *Mykenische Vasen*, 1886) and by Sir William Ridgeway (in *The Early Age of Greece*, 1901) have naturally become hopelessly out of date. Fimmen records the names of at least 240 towns, villages and islands in which some trace of the Creto-Mycenean peoples has been discovered—a truly astonishing feature in view of the fact that a generation ago the knowledge of the very existence of these races may be said to have been hidden from the world. Assisted by numerous plans and maps, the writer then proceeds to discuss such questions as the form and outlay of the Aegean city—its houses, palaces and graves. More than fifty pages are devoted to the subject of the origin, development and distribution of the pottery, while the remaining portion of this section is concerned with a variety of miscellanies which may be included under the heading, "Aegean trade and commerce."

The second part, which has to do with Aegean chronology, has obviously been evolved from the writer's earlier work on this topic. A careful examination is made of the entire question of the history of the Aegeans from Neolithic times down to the so-called sub-Mycenean. In the process, the author has occasion to discuss the problem of Egyptian chronology, to inspect the methods of Eduard Meyer and Petrie, and to introduce the Philistines in connection with the Biblical narrative. He also makes much of the not infrequent discoveries of dated Egyptian works of art in Aegean stations, and of Aegean in dated Egyptian stations. He has besides, an interesting chapter on the mutual influences exerted by Aegean and Egyptian art. The whole result of the chronological investigation is summarized in the form of a table comparing, in parallel columns, the chronologies of Egypt, Crete, the islands, the Greek mainland and the Asiatic littoral. Fimmen's system is somewhat more elaborate than those ordinarily found in the hand-books, but it is hard to escape the feeling that—in proportion to the degree of industry displayed—relatively little has been added to our knowledge in this respect. It may be noted that one misses here, as well as in the chronological table of Bossert, the convenient term "Helladic" which is now commonly in use among English archaeologists.

The whole work is scholarly in an eminent degree. All of the numerous references have (the editor says) been verified; and unflinching accuracy

seems to have been preserved throughout, even to the extent of—that pitfall of Teutonic scholarship—correct orthography of Anglo-Saxon names.

A. D. FRASER

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Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium, in the VI. and V. Centuries B. C. BY E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, W., 1921. 16 shillings, (New York; E. P. Dutton & Co.).

The name of E. Douglas Van Buren (Mrs. A. W. Van Buren) is so familiar to readers of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, that the appearance of a book from her pen should be most heartily welcomed. Her summaries and reviews of the latest Italian publications in this *JOURNAL* have filled a long-felt want with American scholars, who cannot but feel profoundly grateful to her for making accessible to them a wealth of material published in Italy, ordinarily not easily obtainable over here.

Mrs. Van Buren is by all manner of means the most competent English-speaking authority on Etruscan architectural terra-cottas and her voice is as of one having authority. This book is the result of ten years of study and travel, during which time she has seen all the specimens in the museums and collections of Europe to which she refers. She calls her book a "modest attempt at classification" and a "catalogue" (Preface, page v.); but those who know Mrs. Van Buren know that she sets entirely too low a valuation on her work. The book cannot be neglected by students of Etruscan archaeology, and will undoubtedly be used by a number of teachers as a text, to which they will refer their students.

This being the case, it would seem as though Mrs. Van Buren might have gone into more detail in discussing the chronology of these terra-cottas. This reviewer has had the pleasure of working to a slight extent in this field, and he believes that the most moot question in the study of these terra-cottas is how to date them. It would have been of considerable help to scholars to have had included in the book an essay on the work of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., showing the criteria to be used in differentiating between the two, instead of mere bald statements that certain specimens are of the one or the other epoch. To show the unsettled condition of Etruscan chronology, it is sufficient to say that the antefixes from Caere dated by Mrs. Van Buren in the third century B. C. (see page 20 of her book), are put by Walters (*History of Ancient Pottery*, vol. II, pp. 315-16) as early as the fifth century, and by others (including this reviewer) in the fourth century B. C. Scholars need definite criteria in these matters to apply, which will keep them from going astray; and these Mrs. Van Buren has not supplied.

The arrangement of the book leaves nothing to be desired. It is divided into three headings, "Antefixae," "Akroteria," and "Friezes." In the case of the antefixes, the heading is subdivided into Divisions, which in turn are divided into Types, a rather confusing classification, but the best that can be done with so involved a subject; while the other two headings are merely divided into types, and the catalogue system employed. To this reviewer, the last

two headings are the most satisfactory parts of the book. In discussing the antefixes, it would have been very helpful to mention just how many examples of each type were known to the author, as well as stating, as she has, in what museums or collections they were situated: and it seems as if this information were worthy of being incorporated in the text, and not relegated to a footnote. If only one example is known, this should be definitely stated, in such a way as to leave no doubt in the reader's mind.

Nor is her "catalogue" quite complete. This reviewer called her attention to at least one collection in this country, that of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, containing antefixes of her Divisions I, type i, I, type v (a very interesting *mould*, and one of the very few moulds preserved) and IV, type xviii, to which she does not refer; and there is also an example in Copenhagen of her Division II, type v, which is omitted.

One final word of criticism. This reviewer notes with surprise the use of the word "antefixae." It is, of course, a minor point, but "antefix" comes from the Latin "antefixum"; and, if a Latin plural is to be used, it would seem as though it should be "antefixa." In only two of the many works of reference consulted by this reviewer in ascertaining the correctness of this term, was "antefixae" accepted; while the best authorities, such as the Century and Oxford dictionaries, and the architectural dictionaries of Russell Sturgis and the Architectural Publication Society, reject the form "antefixae." In any case, where there is doubt, an English plural is much to be preferred.

This reviewer desires, in closing, to testify most heartily to the scholarship and industry that Mrs. Van Buren has shown. It is only because as a whole the book is so very satisfactory that he points out these items that would make it even more so. It constitutes a most welcome and real contribution to the fascinating and elusive field of Etruscan archaeology.

STEPHEN BLECKER LUCE

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

Classical Associations of Places in Italy. BY FRANCES E. SABIN.

Published by the author, 405 N. Henry St., Madison, Wisconsin. Pp. 526. \$5.00 postpaid.

Every educated traveler in historic Europe, and especially in Italy, next to Greece the most historic European land, is conscious of walking in a realm of ghosts, the ghosts of far off men living their daily lives, tilling their fields, enacting laws, writing poetry, fighting battles, and generally making what we now call ancient history. Their land with its rivers and mountains and plains, their towns and cities, their monuments and tombs, their aqueducts and roads, their theaters and baths, all inextricably linked with their literature as with their lives, are still there, largely in pathetic ruins only, to remind us of that ancient life.

Arriving in any town in any part of Italy, the traveler is burdened with the sense of its historic and literary values, baffled by the consciousness of unknown or half-forgotten facts, allusions, references, and longing for some efficient guide to link up for him the historic past of the locality with its present life.

Many books attempt this task to a greater or less degree, ranging all the way from the formal guide book, that red-covered volume which identifies the tourist in every land, to the numerous special-feature helps to travel.

Whatever the virtues of these, the classical traveler will hail with delight Miss Sabin's book, which he will carry with him, if he is wise, even if he is travelling light and discarding all other books; for in these over five hundred pages he will find ready to hand the historic facts, the literary associations, the quotations from his authors, which will enrich his stay in any region of Italy and bring back the distant past most vividly to his memory. It is a library in a volume.

The book is equipped with numerous maps and illustrations, and gives in alphabetical order all the towns and historic spots of Italy which live in the Greek and Latin classics. Generous quotations from these classics are given under each geographic title, with a translation on the opposite page for those who are unfortunately unfamiliar with the original. A convenient index of places enables the reader to turn at once to any locality desired.

The publication of the book marks the completion of a task of immense difficulty, and places all classical scholars and travelers under a lasting debt to the author.

F. J. MILLER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32nd St., New York City.

Aratus. See Callimachus.

Ausonius, with an English translation by H. G. Evelyn White. Vol. II, with the Eucharisticus of *Paulinus Pellaeus*. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 367. \$2.25.

BOSSERT, H. T. *Alt-Kreta: Kunst und Kunstgewerbe im ägäischen Kulturkreise*. Berlin: Wasmuth. Pp. 66; 215 plates. 120 M.

BUSCHOR, ERNST. *Greek Vase Painting*. Translated by G. C. Richards. London: Chatto and Windus. 25s.

Callimachus and *Lycophron*, with an English translation by A. W. Mair; *Aratus*, with an English translation by G. R. Mair. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. viii+644. \$2.25.

DEFERRARI, ROY J. *A First Latin Book for Catholic Schools*. (The Catholic University Classical Series.) Washington: Catholic University Press.

FAURE, ELIE. *A History of Art*. Vol. I: Ancient Art. Translated from the French by Walter Pach. New York: Harper. Pp. xlix+306. \$6.00.

HOMER. *The Story of the Iliad: retold by F. S. Marvin, R. J. G. Mayor, and F. M. Stawell*. (The King's Treasures of Literature.) New York: Dutton. Pp. 224. \$0.70.

- HOMER. *The Odyssey*, translated by F. Caulfield. London: G. Bell. Pp. xii+412. 7s. 6d.
- LEAF, WALTER. *Little Poems from the Greek*. London: Grant Richards. Pp. 94. 5s.
- LIVINGSTONE, R. W. (ed.). *The Legacy of Greece*. Essays by Gilbert Murray, W. R. Inge, J. Burnet, Sir T. L. Heath, D'Arcy W. Thompson, Charles Singer, R. W. Livingstone, A. Toynbee, A. E. Zimmern, Percy Gardner, Sir Reginald Blomfield. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xii+424. 7s. 6d.
- Lucian*, with an English translation by A. M. Harmon, Vol. III. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 491. \$2.25.
- Lycophron*. See *Callimachus*.
- Menander*. The Principal Fragments, with an English translation by Francis G. Al'inson. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. xxxi+540. \$2.25.
- PALAMAS, KOSTES. *A Hundred Voices and Other Poems*. Translated with an introduction and notes by A. E. Phoutrides. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Pp. vi+227. \$2.50.
- Paulinus Pellaus*. See *Ausonius*.
- PLOTINUS. *Psychic and Physical Treatises*, comprising the Second and Third Enneads. Translated from the Greek by Stephen MacKenna. Vol. II. London: Medici Society. Pp. vii+246. 21s.
- POWELL, L. U., and BARBER, E. A. (eds.). *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*. Recent discoveries in Greek poetry and prose of the fourth and following centuries B. C. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d.
- STOBART, JOHN CLARKE. *The Grandeur that was Rome: a survey of Roman culture and civilization*. Second edition, revised. Philadelphia: Lippincott. Pp. xxviii+351. \$7.50.
- Thucydides*, with an English translation by Charles Forster Smith. Vol. III. (Loeb Classical Library.) New York: Putnam. Pp. 375. \$2.25.
- Vergil*. The Poems of Virgil, translated by J. Rhoades. (The World's Classics.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xii+424. 2s. 6d.

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Editorial

THE NAIL ON THE HEAD

Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, in her admirable article on "Teachers of Latin," published in this month's issue of the JOURNAL, has gathered up and expressed in telling fashion some things about the teaching of Latin which, while they have all been said before, cannot be said too often and have rarely been said as well. We earnestly recommend to all teachers of Latin, whether experienced or inexperienced, that they read this article at least twice and then check up with it their own classical teaching creed and practice.

That the Latin teacher's knowledge of Latin should be exact, rich and varied; that he should have a wide knowledge and deep conviction of the value of Latin, and that he should himself be an enthusiastic admirer of both language, literature and history of the Roman people, and make this admiration contagious—on these points we shall all agree. And yet, alas! what proportion of our ten thousand Latin teachers would measure up to the full stature of this ideal?

But the paragraph which should be printed in red and dinned continually into all our ears relates not so much to the teacher's knowledge of Latin and his ability to teach it from the point of view of merely knowing it and believing in its value, but to that heaven sent sixth sense, which after all is just plain common sense, which will enable him to gage the intellectual digestive capacity of Johnny and Mary who on the first day of school greet him

with shining faces in the first year Latin class. Poor Johnny and Mary! How many thousands of you have started out on the Latin course, perfectly able and willing to learn, with no grouch against Latin, only to drop the subject at the end of one, two, three or four years, discouraged and disgusted, hopelessly soured on Latin? Why? Let Mrs. Dorsey answer:

Our second point takes up the teacher of Latin in relation to his pupils. Here he needs above all other things to appreciate the difficulties of this language study. Seriously the acquisition of Latin is no holiday task; it involves downright effort, unyielding perseverance, and intelligent comprehension of every step of the process. This is the very reason why the study is so tremendously worth while. To sense the student's difficulty, to anticipate trouble, to explain differences between the Latin and the vernacular skillfully and interestingly and in a way to challenge recognition of the contrast, these things are important if the teaching is to be successful. If one were asked what weakness is most often evident in the teaching of Latin, to the hopeless loss of time and interest and the consequent undoing of the pupil, *it is giving students credit for knowledge which they do not possess, taking things for granted as known which are not at all comprehended.* The language is so totally different from English that the poor, bewildered beginner sees neither rhyme nor reason in any of it. Every little step needs to be explained through its English equivalent or contrast. Failure to do this is fatal.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE

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At a time when the whole world is still facing after-war problems of rehabilitation, material and spiritual, and in the bewilderment of chaos needs light from every source, it occurred to me that it would be of value to review the great period of Roman reconstruction, the Augustan age, to see if from the problems it faced, its solutions and its failures, any suggestions might appear for reconstruction today. From the Emperor Augustus' official autobiography, from his biographer and from historians, from contemporary poets and commemorative monuments, I have tried to draw a fair picture of that work for peace which built the golden times of Roman empire, literature and art.¹

Before the way was cleared for reconstruction in the Roman world, the young Octavianus had some very ugly business to execute. His first vows were made to Mars Ultor and it was under his relentless auspices that the triumvirs by executions and proscription exterminated the revolution which had achieved Julius Caesar's death. There followed factional struggles for dominance, first Sextus Pompeius attempting to control the Roman world by blockade, then Antony by alliance with the east. Not for a decennium did civil war really stop. In 29 B. C. the temple of Janus was closed, for so picturesquely did the Romans conclude peace.

Up to this time the only work in reconstruction of significance was Agrippa's reform of the water supply, (33 B. C.) with the restoration of the aqueducts an essential measure of sanitation. It was now necessary for Octavianus and the Roman people

¹ For secondary sources see Gardthausen "Augustus und seine Zeit" and the article in Pauli-Wissowa under *Iulius (Augustus)*, by K. Fitzler and O. Seeck, a valuable chronological summary.

to evolve some program of reconstruction that would facilitate the work of peace at home and abroad. After the first revision of the senate had been consummated, (29 B. C.) (the numbers reduced, upstarts eliminated, the opposition perhaps partly suppressed), Caesar dared, with the assurance of Mr. Lloyd George at certain critical moments, to inform the nation that he was ready to resign his office if they had a better man for the job or a better program than his. Caesar went even farther and did actually resign his powers.

Three remarkable speeches recorded in Cassius Dio may preserve a tradition of the advice given Caesar at this time by his most trusted counselors and the policy which he himself outlined to the Senate on resigning. It is surprising to find the old war-dog, Agrippa, pleading against monarchy and large armies in favor of the republic, and Maecenas, the unambitious knight, urging monarchical government and centralization of power. If these speeches are brilliant imaginative writing by Cassius Dio, at least they preserve a valuable tradition that Caesar before taking so important a step listened to the counsels of able statesmen. The message of Caesar to the senate while presenting an actual resignation, contained such principles that its diplomatic result was assured. (Cass. Dio, 53, 10.)

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon you and refrain from whatever they forbid, and do this not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but also in private, that you may obtain, not penalties, but honours. Entrust the offices both of peace and of war to those who are the most excellent and the most prudent, harbouring no jealousy of any man, and indulging in rivalry, not to advance the private interests of this or that man, but to keep the city safe and make it prosperous. Honour men who show this

spirit, but punish those who act otherwise in political life. Treat your private means as the common property of the state, but refrain from the public funds as belonging to others. Guard strictly what you already have, but never covet that which does not belong to you. Do not treat the allies and subject nations insolently nor exploit them for gain, and in dealing with the enemy, neither wrong him nor fear him. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them either against one another or against those who keep the peace. Maintain the soldiers adequately, so that they may not on account of want desire anything which belongs to others; keep them in hand and under discipline, that they may not become presumptuous and do harm."

Presenting such a platform and standing on the pinnacle of a triple military triumph, Caesar found that the purified senate would not accept his abdication. He maintained to the last that this had been a bona fide resignation. And in the new constitution now arranged, certainly a compromise was aimed at which should carry out the purpose ascribed to him by Dio, (56, 43-4) the mingling of monarchy and democracy.

This comes out most significantly in the plan for provincial administration. A partition of the provinces between Caesar and the senate was effected which gave the control of the older and pacified provinces to the senate but assigned the frontier provinces needing military guards to Caesar, the commander-in-chief of the army. The senatorial provinces were governed by proconsuls, the imperial provinces by *propraetors* who were really Caesar's legates; moreover in the senatorial provinces procurators, officials directly responsible to the emperor, managed all the finance. Besides this indirect control of all provinces, Caesar was given the *maius imperium* later called *proconsulare*, which made him outrank any official in any province, thus insuring primacy in provincial administration. However nominal the dyarchy thus established was, it seems to have been a working plan that secured, through centralization of responsibility and the emperor's tours of inspection, better government than the provincials had ever known.

Under the constitution of 27, Caesar was given other more overwhelming proofs of the confidence (or the subserviency) of the senate. He retained, be it noted, the supreme military command. Already in 30 B. C., he had been granted a casting vote in all the courts and the *tribunicia potestas* for life. Most significant was this last, for besides making his person sacrosanct, it gave him supreme power over the plebeians and their officials, so that he could even veto the vetoes of their tribunes. The fact that until 23 B. C. he also held the consulship was of comparatively small importance, as he was actually *princeps* in senate and among the people, whatever the history of that much disputed title. The senate voted him a body-guard and bestowed upon him the title Augustus which added to military prestige and political honors the sanctity of religion.

In 23 B. C., these various powers were confirmed and extended by the senate: the *tribunicia potestas* was reaffirmed for life; the *ius proconsulare* involving a *maius imperium* was granted him both within and without the pomerium; he was given the right of making treaties, and of summoning, consulting and dismissing the senate; and a final confirmation of all his *acta* in most sweeping terms, "whatever he shall think to be for the benefit and honour of the republic in things divine and human, whether public or private." By this decree, he became virtually head of the state religion although he did not assume the office of *Pontifex Maximus* until 13 B. C.

Certainly from such excessive powers tyranny might as well have developed as the constitutional monarchy at which Augustus declared he aimed; and naturally the opposition believed that such dyarchy spelled absolutism. The difference of opinion persists in regard to Augustus, as indeed in regard to any ruler of vigorous personality and unprecedented powers.

The plan for administration of the provinces was in any case the great bulwark of the *Pax Augusta*, and in strengthening these towers of defense Augustus spent a number of years out of Italy. (22-19, 16-13, 10-9 B. C.) In these successive absences in Gaul and Spain and the east, he not only achieved the pacification of the provinces and extended certain of their boundaries,

(in Gaul, Spain, Germany), but by the prestige of his presence he secured friendly diplomatic relations with the Indians, the Scythians and other peoples of the far east, beside effecting through secret diplomacy the much lauded return of the Roman standards by the Parthians.

Diplomacy with the Parthians must have been a delicate matter, as they were the Turks of antiquity to the lamb Armenia, and Augustus was called upon not only to help decide disputes between rival claimants to the Parthian throne, but also to exercise a sort of mandatory over Armenia. Augustus boasts in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (27) of the fact that when he could have made Armenia a province, he kept the kingdom intact and delivered it finally to a native prince.

An earlier illustration of special treatment of a problem in foreign affairs is in the case of Egypt. Egypt as the granary of Rome had been used as an instrument of war against the state by Antony so that after Actium the government deemed annexation imperative. But the richness of the profits of the land and the feudal system in existence for cultivation made the emperor deem advisable a unique method of administration in which he would not share the responsibility, and Egypt was therefore controlled directly by Caesar as its king. Egypt is still a peculiar and important imperial problem.

In two other directions, attempts were made to push boundaries forward, first to the Elbe, an attempt which ended unsuccessfully, with a return to the Rhine frontier, and in the northeast by subjugation of the northern Alpine tribes (15 B. C.) and Dalmatia, and by the addition of the provinces of Pannonia (9-8 B. C.) and Moesia, (before 6 A. D.,—modern Serbia and Bulgaria) which extended the empire to the Danube and solved for the time the Balkan problem.

Whether the wars that established these boundaries could properly be called wars of defense or not, certainly the general trend of Augustus' policy seems to have been against territorial expansion. The expedition into Arabia seems to have been the one concession allowed to what was apparently a strong militaristic party, for in spite of their sentiment, he never carried out a

heralded expedition to Britain, he relinquished Numidia for a time to a native prince, he kept his hands off Armenia, and he learned the lesson of disaster in Germany. (9 A. D.) Certainly the injunctions which Augustus left on his death to Tiberius and the Roman people were significant of his policy and his experience.

"He advised them to be satisfied with present possessions and under no conditions to wish to increase the empire to any greater dimensions. It would be hard to guard, he said, and this would lead to danger of their losing what was already theirs." (Cass. Dio, 56, 33.)

The *Pax Romana* which Augustus made the dominant note of his policy involved problems no less difficult in home affairs than in foreign. Not the least of these was the problem of the military forces. First of all the great army which served in the civil war had to be demobilized. Augustus had faced one mutiny of his soldiers in Sicily (36 B. C. Cass. Dio, 49, 14) and by his masterly psychological handling of that situation had raised the morale and secured the loyalty of his army, but that experience had taught him the danger of idle troops. After Actium he effected rapid demobilization by sending many soldiers back to the municipia, by placing many in colonies, and by putting many others on the land. Their reestablishment was facilitated by grants of land or money donations.

Along with the demobilization of the war-time army, came the organization of a standing army. The principle which Julius Caesar had enunciated, namely that political power was established by soldiers and gold, was adopted by Augustus to such an extent that he organized an efficient standing army of which he was sole head. To him personally all soldiers took the oath of allegiance. Only the emperor and the imperial princes could now celebrate a triumph. As corollaries of this military power came the selection of the dangerous frontier provinces as the imperial prerogative and the right of the emperor to make treaties and declare war or make peace. The only apparent check on the emperor's power over the army seems to have been that he had to secure the assent of the senate to the formation of new military

forces when he wished them financed by the state. The title of imperator came to mean not merely command in the field, but permanent political power.

In comparison with this fundamental fact of a standing army with the emperor at its head, the details of organization are of minor significance. It is notable that Augustus made the standing army surprisingly small for the size of the empire; that it was recruited from the Italians and the provinces alike; that free-birth was a condition of service until in the pressure of the last years of Augustus' rule. Terms of service, pay, and retiring allowance were all fixed and a new military treasury established to meet the problem of finance. An honorary guard of Italians for Rome and its environs was a new feature of the army. Service in this was voluntary or the reward of distinguished military service, and pay double. Augustus had also a body-guard of foreigners. *Vigiles* too were organized for police service and a fire department in the city of Rome,—important reconstruction work.

The discipline maintained in the army was so severe that it became increasingly difficult to get citizens to serve, as is shown by the terrible story of the father who mutilated the hands of two sons to avoid conscription and the severe punishment meted out to him. (Suet. 24, 25.) However, the traditional Roman feeling for the glory of a military career, the prestige of the army from the successes of Augustus and Agrippa and the carefully ordered pay and rewards maintained a force which was the foundation of the *Pax Augusta*.

The only Roman who seems fully to have realized the importance of the fleet in the Augustan age was Sextus Pompey. The D'Annunzio of his time, with the prestige of a great name, the magnetism of personal leadership, and a gift for brilliant manifestoes which made him proclaim to the popular imagination that he was the son of Neptune, Sextus Pompey dictated terms to Rome through the power of his fleet and his control of the grain supply for a long period of years. (42–36 B. C. Suet. 16; Cass. Dio, 48, 17–19, 27–38; App. B. Civ. 5, 97–127.) When Salvidienus Rufus organized a mosquito fleet of leather boats against him,

Pompey in spectacular derision again played to the galleries by a naval spectacle in which he put on the absurd leather boats of his adversary in conflict with his own fleet. Augustus and Agrippa had to build a new fleet, construct a new naval harbor (the Lucrine), and both go to battle with Sextus before he was conquered. This experience may have made the fleet more effective at Actium, though there the defection of Antony made victory easy. It is interesting to note the device by which Antony's fleet was finally taken. Cornelius Gallus had stretched chains across the harbor at Paraetonium and after Antony's ships sailed in, these were drawn up so that all the vessels were captured. (30 B. C. Cass. Dio, 51, 9.) We hear little of the work of the fleet after this. We know that naval bases were maintained at Ravenna on the east, and on the west the Julian Harbor, the base at Misenum and after Actium, one in Gaul at Forum Iulii. Augustus' boast in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, (25) *mare pacavi a praedonibus* suggests that in the security which was now felt in regard to the "Roman sea" as the Mediterranean came to be designated, far less attention was bestowed on the fleet than on the army. When Drusus was operating in Germany, attempting to push forward the boundaries to the Elbe, he built a fleet and cut a canal for it from the Rhine to the Zuyder Zee, planning to send ships to the mouths of the rivers Ems, Weser, and perhaps the Elbe, but Drusus' death and Tiberius' later reverses annulled this scheme. (12 B. C. Vell. Paterc. II. 97, 109.) Apparently a small standing fleet was maintained by Augustus which was increased as occasion demanded, and such naval support of the army was probably adequate for the time.

The question of the period most difficult to solve is that of Augustus' relation to the senate. The interpretation which he wished to be put upon his attitude is contained in two sentences of the *Mon. Anc.* (1) "In my twentieth year, acting upon my own judgment and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I restored to liberty the commonwealth which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction," and again (34) "In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had put

an end to the civil wars, after having obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the senate and Roman people." Undoubtedly there will never be any consensus of opinion as to whether Augustus was a most subtle, diplomatic tyrant who dominated all under a pretense of democracy, or a sincere experimenter towards a constitutional dyarchy. A review of the facts which admit of such different interpretation leads me only to a hesitant expression of personal opinion.

We have already seen that Augustus after his resignation of the supreme power was refused, kept the command of the army, but shared with the senate the control of the provinces. We shall outline later his division with the senate of the department of finance. He alienated senators at first by taking lands and money from them to remunerate his veterans, (Cass. Dio, 48, 8-9) but after sensing the indignation aroused by this war-time policy he devised the military treasury, supported by voluntary contributions and varied taxation.

By three reforms of the senate, Augustus reduced its number, purged it of upstart members, and diminished the opposition. The emperor's party in the senate was also increased by imperial grants of funds to impoverished supporters who could not meet the necessary money qualification. The power of decrees was left to the senate; the dignity of their position was constantly recognized; more offices were opened to them; the question of the succession was always left nominally to them; and they were consulted by courtesy on such questions as the Parthian succession. But the publication of their acts, instituted by Julius Caesar, was unfortunately discontinued. (Suet. 37.) Cassius Dio (53, 19) protests as vigorously as the press today does against the evils of such "secret diplomacy." Augustus' ideal for the state certainly did not involve freedom of the press, for we find (A. D. 12, Cass. Dio, 56, 27), that on "learning that vituperative books concerning certain men were being written he ordered a search for them. Those he found in the city he had burned by the aediles and those outside by the officials who might be in charge, and he visited punishment upon some of the com-

posers." Freedom of speech within the senate, itself, he seems to have tolerated. (Suet. 54.)

Under the enthusiasm over his exploits in war, the senate had refused Caesar's resignation of power, and had heaped upon him honors and offices so that at least outwardly there was the greatest harmony. The semblance of equality was preserved by Augustus' democratic insistence on the senators remaining seated when he entered or left the senate-house. That all was not fraternal is, however, suggested by the fact that the emperor whenever he entered the senate-house wore a corslet and was escorted by ten secret service men; also no senator was allowed to call at the palace without being searched. Gradually, moreover, there was evinced by the senators a growing reluctance to attend meetings. We hear of penalties for tardiness (Cass. Dio, 54, 18) increased fines for absence (Cass. Dio, 55, 3 sq.), specified days of meeting, (Cass. Dio, 55, 30 sq.) a diminished quorum (B. C. 11, Cass. Dio, 54, 35.) It became also so increasingly difficult to recruit the senate partly from disaffection, partly from the money qualification, partly from the restrictions of travel for the senators, that an imperial decree ordered those under 35 years of age who had the requisite amount of property to become senators unless they were physically disabled. (B. C. 13, Cass. Dio, 54, 26.) Such measures hint the unspoken comment of the times upon the position of the senate.

Augustus himself, sensing this passive resistance, in his later years attempted conciliation in every way. He encouraged freedom of speech by speaking last instead of first in any discussion, and he allowed the senate to try the majority of cases without his being present. (Cass. Dio, 55, 12; 55, 34.) Many of the most distinguished men in Rome, however, never became senators. Before the eternally difficult and delicate problem of the adjustment between the executive and the legislative body, the most patriotic course does not seem the aloofness of an Atticus or a Maecenas. Personally I am inclined to think that the emperor Augustus was trying sincerely to work out his colossal problem of reconstruction for the Roman world, and that among all his difficulties none was more insoluble than the adjustment of central-

ized responsibility in the executive and freedom of speech and action in that ancient and honorable republican body which had come to regard itself as entirely composed of kings!

Augustus' relation to the *equites* or knights seems to have been a more unqualified success. In this reconstruction period the great middle class had little to lose and much to gain. The numbers of the regular order were first much enlarged, and then the range of activities, in addition to the old privilege of serving in the courts, was greatly increased by the opening to them of a large field of civil service in the enormous department directly under Caesar's control. Prestige was added to the order by the fact that Maecenas, the emperor's confidential diplomatist, remained the 'glory of the knights,' and the imperial princes often held the primacy in their ranks. Insignia added to their prestige but far more than this the opportunity for honorable and useful public service won the middle class to Augustus.

But if in his relation to the knights Augustus may have been said to have mingled monarchy and democracy, what can be said of his relation to the plebs? Emasculated but conciliated, they continued to demand *panem et circenses* in compensation for their lost freedom. Yet Augustus did make what seem sincere attempts to give them a share in civic responsibility. The right of election was left them (also the unfortunate privilege of receiving money largess from candidates, a custom not yet eliminated). Augustus, however, presided at the elections, using his right as consul, and made lists of recommended candidates. The right of legislation was not taken from the popular assembly, but was greatly diminished. (Cass. Dio, 53, 21; Tac. Ann. 1, 14.) Clubs and societies were vigorously suppressed unless authorized by a decree of the senate and those thus approved were guilds of hand-workers and industrial cooperative societies. (Suet. 32; Cass. Dio, 54, 2, 22 B. C.) Pelham (Essays on Roman History, p. 142) sees in this act definite encouragement to the formation of guilds, proved by the increase of *collegia*, and would make this one of Augustus' constructive rather than destructive measures. He shows also (pp. 138-9) that Augustus attempted to give the plebs a definite share and responsibility in municipal

government by office-holding in the city wards (*vici*) with not only religious functions, but responsibility for fire control, inspection of weights and measures, and other vaguely defined tasks. That such ward government was not completely successful is suggested by the transfer thirteen years later of fire control and night police work to the imperial *praefectus vigilum*.

However, plebeian ambition continued to find an outlet in these municipal offices and the mass of the people was kept from revolution by the continued distribution of free grain. We have been wont in the past to heap censure upon the impoverishment and demoralization of the Roman population brought about by the distribution of free bread, but since Mr. Hoover and Mr. Vanderlip dared to proclaim that hunger breeds revolution and the world must be fed, we are inclined to a different view of Roman recognition of the fact. Perhaps Augustus hoped as we do that this was an emergency measure, not a permanent policy. It was certainly to Augustus' credit that he diminished the number of almoners in Rome by 100,000 and that with his cry of "back to the land" he sought to help solve the problems both of food and unemployment.

He realized too the psychological effect of amusement as well as food in keeping the populace in sympathy with the government. Perhaps here too we comprehend his policy better after understanding the need of the entertainment department for the American Expeditionary Force, and such social service for the industrial population in our cities. Augustus won the people not only by the pageantry of his military triumph, but by free games, as well as baths and barbers. "In the constancy, variety and magnificence of his shows he outdid all," says Suetonius. (Suet. 43.) From theatrical exhibitions for the literary he condescended to gladiatorial exhibitions in which thousands took part, and hunts of wild beasts that dim the splendor of Barnum and Bailey, naval battles, which have never been approached by the spectacular Hippodrome, chariot races that rival the excitement of the Derby. "Amusement for all" as well as "bread for all" might have been his slogan. And the people, fed and amused, did not interfere in the Augustan reconstruction by revolution. But

the real problem of the free people remained unapprehended and unsolved as it is today. For the ancients the solution was made more difficult because of the presence of a slave class, that complicated problems of employment, food supply, morality and good government. Yet such recognized condition of servitude was perhaps easier to face and ameliorate than the unnamed, industrial slavery which forms so tragic a part of our complex modern problem.

In reviewing Augustus' relations to army and navy, to senate, equites and plebs, we have touched incidentally several of the general lines of reform which he undertook; food supply, population, finance, building. For his solution of the food supply, Augustus adopted a tripartite policy: the encouragement of agriculture to secure production, the freedom of the sea to facilitate importation, and the distribution of free grain to prevent revolution. As part of this policy, colonization was encouraged to relieve the over-crowding in Rome and Italy, farms were granted to the demobilized soldiers, Egypt with its granaries was kept directly under the control of the emperor. The distribution of free grain in Rome was more carefully regulated: the number of almoners was largely decreased; grain commissioners were appointed; an attempt was made to have the distribution take place three times a year instead of monthly, but this reform had to be abandoned because of its unpopularity. (Suet. 40.) The water-supply was as carefully regulated and commissioners were appointed by the senate to take over the work, so well organized by Agrippa. Eventually the commissioners of the food supply and the water supply were made directly responsible to the emperor.

The recruiting of the population was no less a care to Augustus than the public health problems of water supply and food. Alarmed at the decrease of the population caused by disease and wars and at the growing distaste for marriage, Augustus by laws and by exhortation tried to raise the birth rate and establish standards for eugenics. It was a time when the Roman citizen's sense of duty about rearing a family had become greatly relaxed and the new freedom of women, emancipated more or less from

the control of the *patria potestas* or the *manus* of the husband, tended to diminish the sense of responsibility for the race. With the lessened sense of duty to the state, came increased celibacy and immorality, facilitated by a large slave population and foreign hetaerae. Augustus attempted to check the dangers to the state by rigid laws, penalizing adultery, enforcing marriage upon citizens, men and women alike, decreeing penalties for the unmarried and childless and bestowing rewards and privileges on the fathers of families. (Suet. 34; Cass. Dio, 54, 16; 56, 10-1; Pelham 120-1) Cass. Dio, (56, 1 sq.) has preserved an account of a remarkable day of judgment in the Forum when Augustus divided the Roman citizens into two separate groups, the unmarried men, and those who were married and fathers, that the state might see how dangerously small the second group was and point be given to his exhortations. His appeal against race suicide in the name of patriotism, his condemnation of immorality, his laudation of family life rang true. We are inclined to view ironically marriage laws that were proposed by bachelors and that could be evaded by imperial grants, and to place beside them the corruption of the emperor's own family and the public scandals of his notorious daughter, but again the fact that the social problem is still unsolved checks sardonic laughter. Augustus' ideals and principles were right. No effective reform measures have yet been promulgated.

The financial reforms of the age dealt largely with administration. Shuckburgh's brief summary here is admirable. (*Augustus*, pp. 248-9.) The sources of income for the state remained as formerly chiefly the revenue from the provinces. These consisted of special royalties in mines, customs, land rent and a general, designated stipendium, money or kind, varying in nature and amount. In Italy the sources of revenue had been the customs, the rent of public land, the tax on manumitted slaves. There had been a *tributum* or property tax, levied to pay the soldiers, but for years it had fallen into disuse. (Since 167 B. C.) Excessive war-time taxation had been levied by the triumvirs until the citizens came to feel that only the veterans and soldiers were well off and at least one revolt against the tax-

gatherers occurred. (Cass. Dio, 47, 16-17; 48, 34.) The war-time taxes being remitted, it was found impossible to maintain an adequate treasury. Direct taxation had become so unpopular that Augustus attempted a 5% inheritance tax. (Cass. Dio, 56, 28.) When general protests arose against this measure, he asked the senate to propose some other means of income for the state. The various communications submitted by the senate seemed to indicate only that they preferred any other form of taxation to the inheritance tax, so Augustus changed it to a levy on fields and houses and had his assessors begin at once the work of valuation. This proposal reconciled the people to the 5% tax on legacies. Later a 2% tax on the sale of slaves was also adopted. None of these funds were adequate, however, for the tremendous business of the empire and Augustus had constantly to make contributions out of his personal fund and to persuade rich individuals to follow his beneficence.

Augustus' financial measures were more effective in reforming administration than in solving the raising of revenues. He made the following changes in the administration of funds: first, the treasury instead of being left under the control of two young inexperienced quaestors appointed yearly, was placed in charge of *praefecti* of praetorial rank, directly responsible to the emperor; second, a new treasury was established for the revenues from the imperial provinces, which was under the control of the emperor; third, a private fund for the emperor was established into which went the income from Egypt and other extraordinary revenues; fourth, a military treasury was founded by a large gift from the emperor and maintained by special taxation.

The system of collection of taxes was bettered, for the tax-collectors even in the senatorial provinces were held responsible, not to the governors, but directly to the emperor, a centralization of finance that told for less corruption as long as the head of the state was incorruptible. Augustus certainly aimed at removal of provincial oppression. By fair assessments both for provinces and individuals, he tried to secure just taxation, and he assisted by grants of money both provinces and individuals that were having difficulty to meet financial obligations. He never sanctioned the

repudiation of debts,—that facile relief measure at which the Catilinarian conspirators aimed. In the matter of coinage, as well as the division of the treasury, he finally shared responsibility with the senate. All through his financial measures is seen, I think, an attempt to work out this principle of dyarchy.

Part of Augustus' financial reforms was embodied in his sumptuary laws. How extravagant the after-war spending had become is seen in the satires of Horace and it is not strange that the emperor tried to encourage thrift and simplicity by legal regulations of the amounts to be spent on dinner-parties, festivals and weddings; or that he backed law by example, wearing homespun, living in a modest dwelling, serving only three course dinners. (Suet. 72-74.) Neither law nor royal precedent seems to have sufficed to check the growing extravagance of the empire.

More obvious and simple reconstruction work was the building of the age. Augustus' dying boast that having found Rome brick he left it marble (Cass. Dio, 56, 30) seems justified as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (19-21) rolls out sonorously the list of new buildings erected and old ones repaired. An analysis of the record shows the significance of the kinds of building: honor paid to public service by restoration of senate-house and building of basilica; renaissance of religion fostered by repair of eighty-two temples and erection of new shrines for certain favored cults, notably Mars Ultor and Apollo; amusement of the populace encouraged by restoration of one theater and construction of another and of amphitheater; public utilities cared for by repair of highways, essential for travel to the provinces, and improved postal service, and by restoration of the aqueducts. Much of the public building was financed by the emperor, but patriotic private citizens like Agrippa followed the example of his munificence. It has always been easier to secure public bequests for monuments that perpetuate names than to reform morals, stabilize finance or control extravagance.

Certain historians have believed that Augustus attempted more vital reforms than a review of his administrative and practical work can show and would place first of all as the motor force of his reconstruction his renaissance of religion. To me this seems

instead almost as objective as the rebuilding of all the temples that were in ruin. Roman religion was so largely a matter of ritual and formalism that the rebuilding of old temples, the revival of old *ludi*, the punctilious observation of sacred days, the restoration of the colleges of priests seem conventional measures adopted to restore the normal Roman life and to preserve the *mos maiorum*. Significant politically, however, was the worship of the Genius of Augustus which the emperor allowed to grow up, and still more the preeminence which he gave to the worship of his patron god, Apollo, with the resultant prestige for himself of associations with oracle, Sibylline books, Actian shrine, new Palatine temple. When Augustus finally became Pontifex Maximus on Lepidus' death, he consummated his policy of uniting indissolubly church and state, an object early fore-shadowed in the semi-religious title, Augustus, which he had preferred to accept rather than the kingly Romulus first proposed.

As the restoration of religion seems at least partly diplomatic, so the new nationalism which emphasized the past glories of the Roman race and pointed the way to larger powers seems sometimes political propaganda: so often in the literature of the age is patriotism centered about the Julian gens. Yet at this distance it is easier perhaps to impugn motives than to respond to aspiration and if contemporary poetry may be read as a barometer, both religion and nationalism registered high.

In Vergil's poems three great themes stand out in relation to the work of Augustus: the exaltation of peace achieved, the glorification of labor on the farm, the splendor of empire. In the Eclogues, the reader is led from the tragic ejection of the Mantuan peasant to the honor of the god on earth who ended such horrors by his restorative peace. In the Georgics, that glorification of the 'back to the land' movement, war is denounced because no longer due honor is given to the plough, fields lie fallow, ploughshare is forged into sword; and the blessings of peace that are lauded are the tillage of the ground, the cultivation of the olive and the vine, the care of the flocks, the culture of bees. Beautiful passages about Italy are interspersed, but the Aeneid is more largely national in theme, with its magnificent epic development

of the country's legendary foundation and historic past, and with all the glamour cast over the Julian gens from its connection with Venus Genetrix and Apollo with his servants. The prophecies of Rome's future empire have a grandeur no less than that of her recorded history.

Horace is, however, more completely the real poet of reconstruction and there is hardly one of Augustus' reform measures which does not echo in his poetry. He recounts the horrors of civil war which he had seen on the field and at home, glorifies the blessings of peace and the renewed joys of the farmer's life, yet urges a strongly imperialistic attitude in foreign affairs, heralding the expedition into Arabia and the proposed conquest of Britain, recounting Caesar's victories from Cantabria to the land of the Seres. Indeed it is only Augustus' eastern triumphs and the barrier of the Adriatic that make him believe peace at home is safe. Augustus' work of pacification becomes at last to the young Republican who fought on Brutus' side at Philippi the final military glory of Rome's long annals of achievement.

That is because he sees so clearly the need for the reconstruction which the *Pax Augusta* made possible. Regarding avarice as the great sin of the age, he inveighs against extravagance in houses, in dress, in food, and satirizes the spectacular in the theater. While supporting the formal religious revival of the time by writing beautiful hymns to the gods, he preaches a deeper and more vital reform that shall work from within, a peace of mind that results only from Stoic *virtus* and patriotic service. Reforms in morality and family life are made part of such virtue and the hope of the state is rightly seen to lie in its youth so that it is *virginibus puerisque* that Horace writes his sequence of six great reconstruction odes, inculcating in the young hardiness and valor, chastity and piety, honor and patriotism. Horace also makes direct appeal for public use of private fortunes for the relief of the poor, the maintenance of religion, the service of the state. (Sat. II. 2, 103-5.)

Ovid, Tibullus and Propertius sound only occasionally the motifs which Vergil and Horace played upon so elaborately: nationalism and imperialism, the *Pax Augusta*, the happiness of

country life. They unite in making booty the cause for war, and they concede war's usefulness only for the establishment of peace.

Sola gerat miles, quibus arma coherceat, arma. (Ovid, *Fasti* I. 715.)

Let the soldier carry only weapons with which to check weapons.

Caesaris haec virtus et gloria Caesaris haec est:

illa, qua vicit, condidit arma manu. (Prop. II. 16, 41-2.)

This is the valor of Caesar; the glory of Caesar is this: with that hand with which he conquered he sheathed the sword.

The vision of the poets was clear, for the *Pax Augusta* with the reconstruction which it permitted was the emperor's greatest work. The presence of Mars Ultor and the standing army had come to be recognized as the guarantee of peace. Both the emperor and his biographer protested that he had never waged war without just and necessary cause. (Mon. Anc. 26; Suet. 21.) And Augustus' policy as it developed during his reign was shaped more and more towards the *Pax Augusta*: in foreign affairs, by the maintenance of the *status quo*; within the empire by the new provincial administration; in Italy and Rome by reconstruction measures in military forces and civil service, in finance, in public utilities, in care for the poor.

Partial failures can easily be pointed out from the perspective of centuries. Too much military power was centered in one man by the sole command of the army and the right to declare war and make peace. Political power also was so completely centralized that under a bad ruler the whole state could be demoralized. There was no satisfactory solution of sources of revenue and the responsibility for the administration of finance was divided and complicated. The problem of the plebs was viewed from the aristocratic point of view and neither understood, nor solved. (See Maecenas's speech, Cass. Dio, 52, 14.) Finally peace itself was not maintained. Pannonia and the Balkans were seething uneasily. (17 and 16 B. C.) Germany brought so heavy a disaster to the Roman legions beyond the Rhine, that war-time conscription was hurriedly adopted and deportations of Gauls and Germans in Rome were deemed advisable. (9 A. D. Cass.

Dio, 56, 23.) The temple of Janus was re-opened twice during the reign.

The main tendency of the Augustan Era was nevertheless towards peace and the benefits of its reconstruction were, I believe almost incalculable. Towards reconstruction I think Augustus worked slowly and pragmatically, for I see him not as a ruler whose eyes were fixed on military power or absolute monarchy, but as an astute statesman, experimenting, feeling his way by subtle diplomacy, and only gradually formulating his policies of non-expansion, dyarchy, indirect taxation, responsible civil service, maintenance of the poor, state control of religion. He finally urged upon his people a policy of non-aggrandizement. He effected by diplomacy friendly relations with many nations once hostile. He gave some protection to the struggling nation of Armenia and tried to make Numidia autonomous. To be sure, he was not consistent in following out these policies: witness Arabia, Cantabria, Egypt, but he came to believe in them, as his advice to Tiberius in his will showed. (Cass. Dio, 56, 32-3). In home affairs, he had the gift of using the services and advice of distinguished subordinates like Agrippa and Maecenas. Many great men have not. He tried to divide the power with the senate, and if his success was only partial, let us remember that our problem is still unsolved. He won the middle-class and developed through them new traditions for civil service. He tried to give the plebs some municipal responsibility but never really believing in their powers, abandoned the effort and urged finally that the numbers of citizens should not be largely recruited. He did prevent revolution on the part of the people by subsidizing the grain supply. He was successful also in keeping the army loyal, and his regulations of the new standing army kept it adequate in general, small though it was, for maintaining the peace. He was able to improve conditions of cost of food, highways, fire control, and police service. He promoted necessary after-war building activity and tried to encourage private thrift and patriotic generosity. He caught the imagination of the time for his renaissance of religion and nationalism, so that Pegasus was

harnessed to his triumphal chariot, and great poetry popularized his propaganda.

Monuments in stone, also, commemorated his achievements. Certain pictures symbolize the out-standing features of his policies. The Statue of the Porta Prima bears on the corslet a representation of diplomatic eastern triumphs, Parthia restoring the Roman standards to Mars, and of provincial administration, Gaul and Spain representing the larger empire. The remains of the temple of Mars Ultor vowed before Philippi visualize the power that founded peace and the standing army that maintained it. The inscription about the *Ludi Saeculares* may represent the religious renaissance of the time, bringing us near the original record of one religious pageant of the age. The different reliefs of the Ara Pacis, dedicated by the senate in 12 B. C., reliefs scattered through the Museums of Europe, show various phases of his reconstruction work: the blessings of agriculture; the power of the senate; the strength of the nation in family life—Roman citizens represented with their wives and children. If this altar of the *Pax Augusta* could stand before us in all its beauty and completeness, it would be the most fitting monument to the Emperor.

At the close of his great reconstruction odes, Horace sounds a note of tragic despair: (C. 3, 6, 45–8.)

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?
Aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiore.

What does not destructive time destroy? The age of our fathers, worse than that of our grandsires, has produced us, more ignoble, and we soon will bring forth descendants even more corrupt.

Such a mood of pessimism threatens us now, as, after comparing one great reconstruction period of the past with our present, we face the fact that the same problems are before us and that they are still unsolved. Who has defined the rights of beneficent monarchy to acquire territory to protect its own integrity and to civilize an inferior people? What of the wars in Pannonia? Is Armenia to have a mandatory? Is the unique rule of Egypt

satisfactory? Or in military matters, would we not have done well in demobilization to have followed on a larger scale Augustus' back to the land movement? Have we the proper machinery for making war and peace and treaties so that wise advice and rapid action are insured? Has the relation of senate to executive been solved, or has the senate while preserving its powers in democracy diminished its usefulness? Are the rank and file of our citizens, if we have a middle class, in training for civil service? Is there danger of revolution from the people because they are not adequately fed and amused and yet have not the life, liberty and happiness at which democracy aimed? Do we need for public utilities commissioners on food, milk, fuel with greater powers? Do we need sumptuary laws to encourage thrift and curb extravagance? Is building proceeding rapidly enough to make up for war-time inactivity? Finally, has religion been deepened or made more formal? Is our new nationalism a larger patriotism that includes the world, or a narrower provincialism that involves non-expansion in sympathy and privileges as well as territory and responsibility?

As I try to answer these questions, I do not despair, but I am convinced that the world has been retarded in development because it does not preserve and vitalize the experience of the past. Must each age begin reconstruction as a new problem? Has not the greatest mistake perhaps been that there is never adequate reconstruction in education? No trace of plans for that in the Augustan Age. No sure or rapid progress can come until the history of the world becomes through instruction the experience of the present. The modern school in a true reform of education will be not the one that deals largely with immediate experience, modern life, modern languages, contemporary problems, but the one in which the past is taught so vitally to the growing child that the experience of the world, made part of his imagination and life, gives him the adequate equipment for constructing and reconstructing the present.

PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY LATIN

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Very recently, in the *Classical Journal*,¹ Dr. Gray has summed up the preliminary report of the committee appointed to propose a syllabus in Latin for the junior high schools of New York State. The presentation of this material in the *Classical Journal* is virtually an invitation to consider the merits of the committee's recommendation, especially in view of the fact that the American Classical League has now under way comprehensive plans for an investigation looking toward improvement in the Latin course of the secondary schools.

It is unfortunate (though natural) that the advocate of some special view usually starts by decrying all other views, with the idea, of course, that his own suggestions may shine the more by contrast. I say that this is unfortunate, because it plays directly into the hands of the enemy by undermining the position of friends and allies.

Some years ago, the writer was present at a meeting where the late Jesse Benedict Carter presented to a gathering of school teachers his argument for the study of Latin. He began with an enumeration of the grounds generally recognized as valid, dismissing one after another as not justifying the study of the language in the schools. For example, he would say: "If you want practice in handling an inflected language, why not choose Russian?" Finally (as was to be expected) he came to the subject of his own predilection, and declared that the one justification for Latin in the schools is the introduction it affords to ancient life and history.

The fallacy of this procedure would have been manifest, if some hearer had arisen and said: "Professor Carter, most of our

¹ XVII, p. 52 ff.

students do not go beyond Caesar. If the only thing that makes the study of Latin worth while is the insight it gives into ancient life and history, could not vastly more be accomplished under this head by devoting two years to English textbooks on these subjects?" The only possible answer is "Yes." "Well, then," the other might retort, "why study Latin at all?"

Of course Professor Carter did not really mean what he seemed to say. But in order to put his chief idea in bold relief, he wounded his friends. After leaving that meeting, the writer asked a brilliant young teacher of Latin what he thought of the address; and the other replied, with a perplexed and pained expression: "Why, he seemed to be discrediting the fundamentals in which we have so long believed."

Not to multiply examples, Professor A. G. Keller undertook to set forth "The Case for Latin" in the *Yale Review*, October 1916. He follows Professor Carter's method exactly, and decrying all other considerations (including the one on which Professor Carter rests his case), he finds the one justification for the study of Latin in its disciplinary value. We are coming to see that through the study of Latin great value to the student's English may accrue. Yet, if memory fails not, Professor Keller has the finest scorn for such a process, likening it to the employment of a piledriver to send home a tack.

That friends of the classics should thus work at cross purposes is little short of suicidal folly. Our motto should be 'Live and let live.' It is not to be expected that some one particular value realized through the study of Latin will appeal to all as pre-eminent; and it certainly is true that different teachers can handle the subject with conspicuous success, though following very different methods. Least of all should we become victims of the standardization mania, whereby some particular programme is to be forced upon unconvinced and reluctant teachers. Proposals that have merit only need publicity, and they will win their own way; they do not need to be forced. We should do well, therefore, to avoid decrying any value, however small, that is realized through the study of Latin. When all these values are gathered

up into a combined total, the result is an argument of convincing power.¹

The above remarks are suggested by the destructive criticism which introduces the article now under discussion. The tone adopted is that of the professional educational expert determined to discredit Latin as now taught; and in fact the text is made up in part of a mosaic of quotations from the writings of these unfriendly and unsympathetic critics, and the judgments expressed in these quotations are accepted without question as legitimate deductions from valid tests.

How pitifully inadequate is some of the work of 'investigation' judged worthy of publication in educational journals has been shown elsewhere by the writer.² And we should never lose sight of the fact that much of this 'investigation' has been conducted by educationalists who felt that the supposed findings of experimental psychology made it incumbent upon them to discredit any 'disciplinary' study. Give an 'investigator' such a bias and allow him his choice of 'method,' and he will find little difficulty in 'proving' his point.

As to the main theses underlying the committee's report, Dr. Gray is somewhat at a loss to understand why teachers are so slow to respond to the new light.³ The plain fact of the case is that many are still in doubt as to some features of the programme.

It is true, too, that the whole matter of formal mental tests is still in a more or less experimental state; it is the easiest thing in the world to overlook some slip or omission that invalidates the whole apparent result. Speaking of intelligence tests, a professed educationalist said frankly the other day: "We do not know yet just what these tests mean. Perhaps in ten years we shall have reached solid ground." And when we recall how the psychologists have reversed themselves in the past decade, and how the over-night reformer, ever keen for some new thing, seized

¹ See "The Cumulative Argument for the Study of Latin, School and Society, iv, No. 101 (Dec. 2, 1916), p. 858 ff.

² Experimental Test of Educational Values, *Education*, XXXVIII, No. 6 (February 1918), p. 460 ff.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 56.

his opportunity to upset the school curriculum on a false alarm, we may well be pardoned for showing hesitation in discarding time-tried and time-honored conclusions on the basis of the apparent results of formal tests.

In view of the writer's often expressed opinions, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say that he is heartily in favor of a forward movement in Latin instruction, and that he appreciates to the full the value of the careful investigation of the Latin-English problem by Dr. Gray and others. The question is merely whether it is necessary or desirable to go the full length of the road which the New York committee has pointed out.

The cogency of the argument in favor of such a course is not by any means as compelling as might appear on the surface; and it may be worth while to consider briefly some of the points involved. The outline of the programme is somewhat as follows:

- (1) The study of Latin as an end in itself is not justified by results; hence that ideal must be abandoned.
- (2) The real justification for Latin in the secondary course must be found in what we have previously regarded as byproducts, e.g., influence upon the student's English.
- (3) These byproducts cannot be developed automatically.
- (4) Therefore the whole course must be reorganized to give first place to these real aims of the study.

The capstone is not added in this summary; but, being reported through another channel,¹ it may well be included here for completeness:

- (5) Caesar (the one author reached by the majority of students) should be rewritten in words that would serve best as a basis for the study of derivatives, and the like.

This programme, if carried through to the end, is certainly extreme. For it virtually amounts to making the Latin of the schools a *corpus vile* used primarily as an indirect means of teaching English spelling, derivation, and the like. How completely this idea dominates the whole is shown by the fact that even the work done by college graduates who are candidates for the

¹ Not, however, as a part of the committee report, but merely as the suggestion of one member of the committee.

doctor's degree is characterized as "thrown away" because devoted to the ideal of scholarship and not to statistical pedagogical studies bearing on the problems of Latin in the secondary school.¹

Taking up the programme in the order above set down, certain pertinent questions arise:

(1) Is it true that the study of Latin as now conducted in the schools is to be counted a mere dead-end, for the reason that many students do not continue to read Latin after their course is finished?

In the summary, the Latin situation is compared to the study of music; and it is pointed out that no one would think of devoting a long period to training in the use of the piano, did he not intend to continue to play after the period of training was completed. This is the sort of unfair comparison which the sworn enemy of Latin would be apt to put forward, with the idea of discrediting the study at any cost. The proper comparison is with a subject like algebra. Aside from the small percentage carried on by prescription, how many students of algebra continue to work problems in that field after the course is finished? Would the committee on syllabus on this ground advocate that algebra be dropped from the course as a dead-end? I think not.

As a matter of fact, therefore, nothing is accomplished by this attack upon Latin as now taught except to call attention to a circumstance with which we are already familiar, namely that not many high school students continue to read Latin privately after their class work is completed. Yet, through borrowing the thunder of the 'bitter ender' foes of Latin, this simple fact is handled in such a way as to seem to discredit the Latin course as it stands at present.

(2) Is it true that the sole justification for the retention of Latin in the high school curriculum lies in the development of what were once regarded as byproducts?

Under this head, nearly all will be willing to meet the committee's report half way. It certainly is true that the course

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 61, footn. 2.

should be so conducted that the student who takes but one year of Latin may carry away specific and concrete value for the time spent; and it is equally true that the values emphasized in the committee's report are of a kind most easily measurable.

But it is not so certain that this covers the whole ground. Each reader, consulting his own recollection, may ask himself what effect was produced upon his own mind by even the first two years of Latin taught in the conventional way. I feel sure that there would be a very considerable body of testimony to the effect that the experience was the cause of a mental enlargement—an opening up of a new vista of thought and feeling. This will be all the more true in the case of those whose good fortune it was to fall into the hands of teachers who really knew their subject and loved it well. That introduction to Latin was in a way a venture into unknown land, which somehow affected the viewpoint in such a way that we are today somewhat different persons than we should have been but for the experience.

The fact that such results are rather intangible and beyond the reach of formal tests does not at all discredit those results. Indeed it often happens that the things which are most real elude most easily concrete analysis. Under this head, what we most need is more teachers who know and love Latin. They are the ones who can make the subject live.

(3) Is 'transfer' ever automatic, or must it always be 'personally conducted?'

The report declares for the latter view; but here we do not follow so readily. To reach solid ground, several points need to be kept in mind:

(a) Technical names and distinctions frequently darken counsel. Thus years ago someone made the 'discovery' that disease cannot be inherited. A certain physician (who, by the way, knew nothing about the matter) was trumpeting forth the soul-cheering discovery, when he was asked whether he would risk, let us say, leprous ancestry. "By no means," he said; "for though you cannot inherit disease, you may inherit tendency to disease!" What then of the soul-cheering discovery? Its enunciation may indeed interest the doctors as giving them a chance to wrangle regarding

the stage of abnormality which must be reached to justify the designation 'disease'; but the evils inherent in bad ancestry are not affected one whit.

In this connection we are reminded of Cicero's trouble with the Stoics, who admitted that pain is a thing harsh, cruel, distressing, and unnatural, but who would be hung, drawn and quartered rather than admit it to be 'an evil' (*malum*). He tells of Pompey's call upon the Stoic Posidonius, and how the bed-ridden philosopher, racked by pain, insisted upon delivering for his distinguished visitor a lecture on this very subject. And, when momentarily checked by a paroxysm of unusual violence, he would remark: "It's no use, pain; however troublesome you may be, I'll never admit that you are an evil."¹

The refusal of the Stoics to place a certain label on pain of course has no bearing upon the question of the reality and nature of pain itself; and Cicero very sensibly points out that the real question is not the selection of a proper label for pain but rather the development of fortitude essential to bearing the suffering manfully.²

Just so in the realm of educational psychology the experts may take pleasure in quarreling with one another as to the proper designations for various activities of the mind. We, on the outside, shall do well to avoid technical language that easily lends itself to confusion of thought.

(b) Conclusions that rest upon the sure basis of experience should not hastily be abandoned in favor of the supposed results of a formal experiment. If someone should announce from the laboratory that it had been discovered that it is conducive to health to live in a confined space in air laden with sharp and irritating particles, it is not likely that the educational experts, credulous though they are, would hasten to provide such classroom conditions. But let it be announced that the experimental psychologists have made a 'discovery' however inconsistent with the plain facts of the case, and the reformers can hardly wait until

¹ Tusc. Disp. ii. 61.

² *Ibid.* ii. 28.

morning to show that they are abreast of the times by overthrowing the existing order.

When an experienced teacher of French or Spanish says: "On beginning work with a new class, the pupils do not have to tell me of their previous training, for I can easily select at once those who have had Latin," we are on a solid basis of fact. If the experienced teacher meeting a class five times a week is not competent to speak on such a point, no one else is or can be.

Hence when an investigator rushes in for a half-hour to apply a test which he has devised in the hope of discrediting disciplinary studies in general, and Latin in particular as a preparation for the study of the Romance languages, we may confidently expect a report that the pupils in Latin show a superiority of only .0003%. Such reports hurt the cause, of course; but they clearly do not represent the facts. And there is occasion for regret in that the summary now under discussion introduces matter of this sort, quoting it as if the conclusions were to be accepted at par.

(c) Ruling out, therefore, any controversy about terms, and dealing directly with the facts of experience, the question of transfer may be considered under two heads:¹

(a) General Discipline. Here counsel is darkened, if we begin to strive about 'faculties' and 'powers' of the mind. Whatever terms are used, certain things stand sure. If a lad in his early years passes through a strenuous but healthful régime and is inured to hard toil in the open, observation shows that he has stored up a capital that will 'transfer' (i.e., stand him in good stead) in almost any field to which he may be called; in other words, his general physical fitness carries over helpfully into almost anything he undertakes. And, be it noted, this very desirable condition of affairs results far more often from a 'required' than from an 'elective' course.

What of strictly mental training? If a lad is put through a course of study that develops power of concentration, observation, alertness, and patient attention to detail, has he not stored up a capital that will stand him in good stead in other and wider

¹ See *Two Phases of Mental Discipline, School and Society*, VI, No. 149 (Sept. 1, 1917), p. 261 ff.

fields? Or are better results to be expected if he is enrolled in an elective course and allowed to dodge anything that has the reputation of being 'hard,' spending his evenings on the modern substitute for the dime novel? For the answer to these questions we hardly need to go to the psychologist. We have only to appeal to our own experience and observation.

(β) *Special Discipline.* The committee's report denies any appreciable degree of 'automatic' transfer, joining Dr. Flexner in the refrain "We train what we train." By this last it is meant that the mind is made up of water-tight compartments, so to speak, and that there is no penetrating of the dividing walls. In other words, there must be special and distinct training for each separate objective, training in other departments helping not at all here.

This conception of the mind's activity is said to rest largely upon Thorndike's experiments in animal psychology. It was caught up at once by the educationalists and pushed to the most absurd extremes. Principal Stearns relates¹ that an enthusiastic reformer was asked by one of his hearers: "Do you mean to imply that the habits of honesty in thought and speech and conduct that I am daily seeking to develop in my young son will not be of value when he enters upon a business career in later years, but that a fresh start must then be made?" The answer was: "That is a fair assumption." In other words, a boy taught to be honest in handling marbles, will need a special course later in handling money honestly. Surely this is an interesting conclusion when set side by side with the age-old verdict: "He that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much."

Here there is need for the use of common sense; and we pause to wonder how long the great body of teachers will remain an unorganized mass at the mercy of these over-night reformers who have gotten themselves into administrative positions, where they can foist any sort of 'reform' upon a long suffering school public.

¹ *Some Fallacies in the Modern Educational Scheme*, *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1916, p. 641 ff.

In this connection it is astounding, in the summary,¹ to find Professor G. M. Stratton cited under the statement 'that automatic transfer does not occur to any appreciable degree is today the practically unanimous verdict.' What Professor Stratton really says is as follows:

"Instead, then, of proving that you train what you train, the psychological experiments which have so troubled the waters of education prove that normally you train what you don't train."²

The full significance of this statement will be missed if it is not noted that these are the words, not of a classical teacher, but of an experimental psychologist of high rank, who, now that the smoke of battle has subsided somewhat, passes judgment calmly on the work of his colleagues. If he judges that the experiments show large automatic transfer, surely we may be pardoned for hesitating to enter upon a wholesale reconstruction on a no-transfer basis.

(4) Should, therefore, the whole secondary Latin course be reorganized to serve primarily or solely as a means of forced transfer? Certainly not, so far as yet clearly proved by psychology. Probably the committee uses the adjective 'automatic' in a sense a little wider than the strictly technical meaning, so as to include any applications spontaneously made by the pupil himself. It is going to be a rather difficult matter to secure accurate measurements here; but of spontaneous transfer there is plenty of proof without formal test. We see it when the seventh grade student announces to his teacher that he will never fail on the spelling of 'nautical' because he knows *nauta*. How far this process may be carried voluntarily by the student is shown in an interesting paper by the geographer, Dr. Redway.³ How much was won in this way through the teaching of Latin years ago you can find by questioning your friends who no longer read Latin.

(5) Shall we rewrite Caesar (the one author that the majority of students reach) in such a way as to serve as a better back-

¹ Page 57, footn. 2.

² The Mind as Misrepresented to Teachers, Atlantic Monthly, March 1921, p. 369.

³ A Heretic's Rank Heresy, Journal of Education, LXXXV, No. 2124 (April 5, 1917), p. 370 ff.

ground for etymological studies and the like? I should say most certainly not, unless we are absolutely forced to such a course.

To sum up, then, the conclusions above reached may be embodied in a programme of the following sort:

(1) Live and let live. No value should be belittled which any teacher can develop through the study of Latin. The single rod is easily broken, it is true, but the cumulative argument for the study of Latin is exceedingly strong.

(2) Not all teachers do their best work by the same method. We should not expect therefore to impose upon all some special method used with success by a few.

(3) Suggestions for curriculum:

(a) Fair value for time expended should be given every student whether his course be short or long.

(b) Such readjustments should be made as will place needed emphasis upon what once were regarded as by-products.

(c) Means should be adopted to bring the student early to real reading power;¹ for, despite all that may be said to the contrary, ability to read simple Latin is a worthy aim, an encouragement to the student, and (when realized) a stumbling block to the critic.

The survey undertaken by the American Classical League is doing a good work in drawing the attention of multitudes of people to Latin problems, and in interesting many in special investigations that may well enrich and guide Latin teaching. And though formal testing is yet itself more or less in the experimental stage, it is to be hoped that results of value will be obtained. Still it must never be forgotten that figures will prove almost anything, and that the conclusions derived from them depend to a considerable extent upon the attitude of the investigator.

This matter of testing, however important it may be, should not overshadow the fact that some of the gravest difficulties now

¹ For example, by bridging the gap between beginning Latin and the first author taken up by the student.

besetting Latin in the schools are as yet left wholly untouched—and Rome is burning the while.

The great influx of non-classical students and the tremendous growth of vocational studies have resulted, in many schools, in crowding Latin to the wall, and in some cases excluding it entirely. This too, very often, without deliberate intent on the part of any. In fact it may be merely an administrative and financial question. On a free elective basis, the students throng the easier courses, leaving only a corporal's guard for the Latin classes. When the largely elected subjects have been provided for, how can a teacher be spared for several small classes in Latin, or where find the money for an additional teacher?

Hence we continually hear echoes of the rule: "No course will be organized in this school unless (blank) students enroll for the same." Even in large schools such rules endanger third and fourth year Latin; and this not merely deprives students of a chance to study Cicero and Vergil at the time, but it necessitates at least a two-year break, so that the pupils who go on to college can then take up Latin again only under a heavy handicap. In the small schools the rule may easily exclude Latin altogether.

This is true under favorable conditions. The matter is still more serious when school boards and school administrators (as happens all too frequently) are eager to find excuses for ousting Latin in favor of 'the newer and more vital subjects.' Improvement in method is much to be desired; but in some quarters at least, these administrative difficulties are hurting Latin far more than any improvement in method is likely to help it.

Let no one view this matter lightly; for, beyond question, *it is the small high school that keeps Latin on the map*, making it a universal subject, open to all classes in every part of the country. To surrender the small high school means to start on the downward way that Greek has gone; hardly anything would give more pleasure to the men of Dr. Eliot's views than to see Latin restricted to the large schools. This is the beginning of the end.

For the solution of this problem the sympathetic coöperation of administrative specialists must be enlisted. No other aspect of the Latin situation calls so loudly for early attention.

TEACHERS OF LATIN¹

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They are still with us. Subjects of a varying criticism, now adulatory and now destructively condemnatory, teachers of Latin still exist. In spite of English, history, modern languages, and science, nay rather as the chief support and hand maid of all these subjects, Latin is still taught in our schools and the young men and women who graduate from the courses of which this classic forms a part are still filling conspicuously useful places in the world of business and society. In a city where high schools of the classic and polytechnic type exist side by side it frequently happens, I am told, that business men make special request for graduates of the classic rather than the polytechnic school. As the manager of one firm expressed it to the principal of the classical school, "In our business we want your boys. We find that they have trained minds. That's what we require to begin with. We'll do the rest."

In commenting on teachers of Latin what more natural than to speak first of the teacher in relation to her subject? In this subject *preparation* is a matter of more than ordinary significance. Latin is a great subject. It cannot be taught with any "hand to mouth" preparation. This may be said of any subject which is to be well taught, but it is inexorably true of Latin that a teacher to be ordinarily proficient and successful must subject herself to years of preparatory training in the language itself and in allied studies.

I once heard of a young woman who signed a contract to teach in the ninth grade of a certain public school in a small semi-rural community. To her dismay she found, after the contract was

¹ Read at a special meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, July 13, 1917, held in connection with the meetings of the National Education Association, at Portland, Oregon.

signed, that she would be required to teach a class in beginning Latin. Stunned but unappalled the young woman set about to prepare herself for the task within a period of four months, for happily the long summer vacation and a few extra weeks lay between her and the day of doom. She had the wisdom to hunt out the best available teacher, explained her predicament, and pleaded for help. The teacher, chancing to be of an adventurous type as well as supremely skillful in Latin methods, made the case clear that in his judgment the success of such an experiment was highly doubtful and the ethics of the situation not at all to his liking. However, under certain rigid conditions as to the time to be given to the subject each day, and the time to be devoted to rest and exercise, and after making certain prescriptions with reference to other important elements in the venture, he consented to undertake the preparation of this young person to teach a class of beginners in the fall term. It was a fool hardy undertaking and was only indifferently successful.

The instance illustrates well what I mean. This same young teacher, or one of equal ability, might have prepared herself in that short time to teach quite acceptably a ninth year class in physical geography or ancient history or English. A teacher may plod along on the "hand to mouth" plan of preparation in many subjects, but not in Latin. Here preparation must be not adequate, but extensive; not general and approximate, but exact and intensive; not meagre and restricted, but broad and varied. Too many times even in the large schools of our cities Teachers of Latin creep into the work with a preparation in the actual subject which includes little more than an indifferent reading of the few authors to be taught in the secondary school or at the most in the first year of college. Their poverty of acquaintance with other authors unfits them to appreciate much that is best in the writings actually taught.

It might be a question for instance how far preparation is adequate for the teaching of the first six books of Virgil which does not include familiarity with the contents of the last six books of the story. In fact, the significance and consummation of the poem are found in the latter books. While no one would contend

that for high school purposes the interest of the pupil is not better sustained in the series of stories found in the first books of the Aeneid, still those books can be most fully interpreted by the teacher who is familiar with the last six books.

Another view of Catiline's character, motives and provocation than that found in Cicero's orations is essential if the teacher is to deal fairly with his students and to present the greatest lessons and those which should be learned from the literature of all peoples, namely, the need to search for the whole truth and the need for calm, dispassionate judgment of men and events.

The preparation of the Latin teacher should include acquaintance with authors later than the golden period of Roman literature. Even mediaeval Latin as expressed in the hymns of the church should not be wholly unknown and unappreciated. This is so obvious as to need no comment. However, this great mine of illustrative and illuminating material, the hymns and prayers of the church, is constantly overlooked in the preparation of teachers. Largely because of these, Latin is today a living language, a fact which the friends of Latin overlook and its enemies purposely ignore.

The preparation of the teacher of Latin should be *exact*. Not that meticulous exactness that would impose hair-splitting discriminations upon young students for the discipline of their minds and souls or for any other reason. The case of preparation of the teacher is one thing and teaching high school students is quite another matter. With the teacher exact knowledge is a necessity just because he is to be a teacher and because ordinary honesty and self respect must make him scorn half knowledge, which is always imperfect and inexact. Chiefly also because it is only when a teacher has a complete, exact knowledge of Latin forms and of the content of the matter to be taught that he is at perfect ease and at home with his art. When the teacher of Latin is past master of the mechanics and matter of his subject, then only can he venture with his students into the broader aspects of the study, those aspects which are really the most significant and truly educational, seeking to find in the literature the expression of the life of a great people who held a pivotal place in the history of nations.

The preparation of teachers of Latin should be *varied* and *rich*. It should include wide acquaintance with the history of the nations of antiquity and of the Romans in particular, of their customs, of the geography of the Roman world, not simply in the matter of locations, but the geography of the physical features of Italy and the countries of the Mediterranean, for these physical features are a great factor in all human history. Preparation to teach Latin should include a knowledge of Roman architecture, not merely of buildings but of public works, a knowledge of which amounts almost to acquaintance with Roman history as a whole. In the realm of the material the Roman was as passionate a builder as in the world of politics he was an adroit organizer. In passing, one may say that there is no surer way to gain a mastery of knowledge on these various aspects of Roman life and history than to write about them. Writing calls for exactness which in turn demands careful investigation and fullness of information.

The would-be teacher of Latin who has made a study of Roman roads, of the Forum, the aqueduct, the villa, the amphitheatre, the arch; of Roman marriage customs, of the festivals, and procession and whose study has been sufficiently exhaustive to work into a theme has gained a fund of information that will serve as a perpetual sidelight on the whole. It is this *varied scholarship* which makes the teacher of Latin worth while, for after all, our boys and girls are studying Latin for what they can get out of it and if the teacher has only the dry husks of formalism to give, the student will drone through years of the subject without gaining an appreciation of the literature or a comprehension of the people, the two really vital objects in all study of Latin.

A most desirable feature in the preparation of the teacher of Latin is at least a moderate acquaintance with Greek. The reasons for this are so obvious as to need no urging. If it is true, as is commonly asserted, that the Romans originated nothing in literary form save the satire and that all their other literary expression is but a clumsy, imperfect imitation of the Greek and a wholesale borrowing, then it were surely a wise thing to know the original. Granting that the Roman literary genius was not of the highly original and creative type, their literature shows at

least a virile interpretation of life as they, a race of conquerors and organizers, saw and understood life and their interpretation is the better appreciated in the light of the literature of their incomparable teachers and models, the Greeks.

In considering the teacher of Latin in relation to his subject one is constrained to remark that the *attitude* of the teacher toward his subject is a matter of no small account. He needs to have a conviction of its value in the catalogue of studies. To doubt its worth or to be ignorant of its educative power is death to enthusiasm and a sure recipe for failure. The teacher does not need to be in a perpetual condition of aggressive, argumentative apology for the subject of his choice. He does not need to assume that the teachers of other subjects are all iconoclasts toward Latin and that he is the one and only appointed guardian of the honor of the classics. Of far more importance is it to have a calm assurance of the *value* of *Latin* based on actual knowledge of the place this study has occupied in education, why it has held that place, and with what modifications, if any, the study of Latin should continue.

The teacher of this subject must have an *enthusiastic admiration* for the Latin language and the people. There is not the slightest danger in having this admiration tempered by a knowledge of what the language and the people lacked. Just a facing of the facts and a reason for the faith in his subject make the Latin teacher's work increasingly effective, for nothing so palsies effort as a suspicion that the effort is not worth while. One may possibly be forgiven if she ventures the suggestion that a part of the preparation of the teacher of Latin might well be the cultivation of a personality somewhat inclined to the serious, certainly not flippant or inconsequential. We can hardly associate an affectation of jocularly and slang and similar trivialities with the periods of Cicero and the hexameters of Virgil. Not heavy, nor light, but dignified, purposeful, and in earnest, such the great teachers of Latin are reputed to have shown themselves.

Our second point takes up the teacher of Latin in relation to his pupils. Here he needs above all other things to appreciate the difficulties of this language study. Seriously the acquisition

of Latin is no holiday task; it involves downright effort, unyielding perseverance, and intelligent comprehension of every step of the process. This is the very reason why the study is so tremendously worth while. To sense the student's difficulty, to anticipate trouble, to explain differences between the Latin and the vernacular skillfully and interestingly and in a way to challenge recognition of the contrast, these things are important if the teaching is to be successful. If one were asked what weakness is most often evident in the teaching of Latin, to the hopeless loss of time and interest and the consequent undoing of the pupil, it is giving students credit for knowledge which they do not possess, taking things for granted as known which are not at all comprehended. The language is so totally different from English that the poor, bewildered beginner sees neither rhyme nor reason in any of it. Every little step needs to be explained through its English equivalent or contrast. Failure to do this is fatal.

The Roman setting, too, is so different. A teacher should be skillful in sensing how puzzling to a young person are the countless allusions to manners, customs and all else wholly unfamiliar. I can recall to this day an almost sickening sensation of bewilderment and discouragement that came over me when as a child I left the simple sentences of the beginners book, sufficiently dull but still comprehensible, and plunged into the myths of the text book of that day. No one thought it worth while to interpret, for instance, the myth of Romulus and Remus. It seemed not to be the fact that we were studying Latin to gain an insight into the spirit of the Romans, but apparently just for words. I wanted bread, the bread of understanding; my teacher gave me a stone. What was it all about anyhow, this senseless, unbelievable, almost repulsive story of the twins and the wolf? Nothing should be taken for granted as unimportant or irrelevant either in the linguistic forms or the literary setting by teachers of Latin.

There should be *enjoyment* in the study. The minimum of drudgery and the maximum of work with results should be the aim of the teacher. This involves careful consideration of ways of approach so that the process of acquisition may itself be pleasurable and knowledge be gained with the least of painful effort.

Enjoyment of the work is enhanced by all enrichment of the student's experience through explanations and the introduction of incidents that illustrate and so elucidate. Not long ago I visited a class in beginning Latin in which a few days before the class had worked on a page containing an illustration of the Arch of Titus. I was curious to find out what use, if any, the teacher was making of the rather numerous illustrations in this particular book. By questioning I discovered, as I feared, that the illustrations had illustrated nothing so far as the class was concerned. No one knew why arches were constructed by the Romans, who Titus was, what the Arch of Titus stood for, what events were celebrated in the bas reliefs on the Arch, why such reliefs were there rather than any other figures. This is a good example of how illustrations do not illustrate. It incidentally explains why beginning Latin is with some teachers so "deadly dull." What good opportunity for a discerning teacher to introduce a bit of keen enjoyment into the day's lesson by telling a thrilling story that would stay forever with the student and enliven future work. To put aside the day's lesson and go to a Roman theatre or bath or basilica, to spend a day in the Forum, all these are experiences which the student does not forget, and they are vital to the enjoyment of the work.

Avoidance of unnecessary difficulties is the sign of a wise teacher. A brilliant woman who reads Greek with ease and delight enjoys telling what an exceedingly stupid creature she is as compared with a prosy, commonplace lexicon-bound classmate. In their first Greek class in college the brilliant woman was stunned by a challenge from the professor to distinguish between an objective and a subjective genitive. She did not know. Her classmate carried off the honors in a lengthy dissertation on the "love of God and the *love* of God." Doubtless the distinction referred to is important, but is that and are many others of a similar nature so exceedingly important for young students?

I have often wondered whether the introduction of accents by the Greeks of Alexandria, to help foreigners in the acquisition of the Greek language, which accents have come down to the modern student as a troublesome heritage, is not a questionable benefit.

Of course it is heresy to say so, but while I am indulging in this sort of reckless comment I may as well go to the full length, declare my utter unworthiness to figure as a strict classicist, and say with shamelessness that the Greek accent is not worth all the fuss and trouble bestowed upon it and should never have been invented to pester the young student of the modern world. He would really love to master the vocabulary and structure of the Greek language sufficiently well to read Homer with a relish, but countless little things obstruct the big process and he becomes lost. In the study of the classics is not too much time for the ordinary student wasted in meticulous distinctions of form and construction so that the student in confusion and weariness of spirit abandons the quest of the language in discouragement and even disgust?

My last point is this. The teacher of Latin should have a definite, keen conviction of the place in education which this study holds.

For training in observation, reasoning, and expression there is nothing superior to the study of Latin. The translation of a single sentence of Latin with its numerous inflections calls for a series of closest observations. The process of translation is a continuous searching for an adjusting of relationships and what is this but reasoning? It may be questioned whether for the young student the translation of a portion of a superior piece of classic literature may not be a better exercise in English composition, with the rich drill such work affords in vocabulary, phrase and thought, than the creation of an original essay. At least a portion of the time spent in English composition could doubtless with profit be diverted to translations, to the great enrichment of the student's vocabulary and fund of ideas. There is in fact no training in fine discrimination in the use of words, in thought processes, and in the aesthetics of literature comparable with that which comes from the daily exercise in translation from the classics.

In passing, it may be said that this study should be pursued not for their delectation by a privileged group of the intellectually superior, but by any young man or woman for his education to higher enjoyment and service. Teachers of Latin may have large

confidence in their subject as one that has figured extensively in the education of the greatest men and women since the days of Rome, those men and women whose trained minds have understood human nature, interpreted human history, expressed human sentiments and emotions in poetry, song and story and have guided human actions into the grandest reaches of service and achievement.

A VERGILIAN LINE

By ARTHUR L. KEITH
Carleton College

Vergil's *Aeneid* I 462,

sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt,

has evoked considerable praise. Mackail calls it "the most famous of his single lines." Tyrrell says it strikes "one with a sense of wondrous beauty and pathetic dignity." Woodberry describes *lacrimae rerum* as the best known and the central phrase of the *Aeneid* and asserts that it might be regarded as the other name of the poem. Others refer to it as the finest verse in Latin poetry. But a curious thing in this chorus of praise is the fact that there are wide differences as to the meaning of the line. Is the beauty of the line to be found in a clear and definite thought or is it due to some elusive quality, some vague and mystic element which but half-reveals some deep and important thought of the poet? Vergil certainly had the capacity to express weighty ideas by suggestion, and this well known habit of the poet has led some to think that such was his intention here.

It is a temptation to give these words the finer and more poetical interpretation but a due consideration of the points involved leads to the acceptance of another interpretation, perhaps more prosaic, but the more obvious one and the one ordinarily accepted and apparently never questioned until another meaning occurred to Henry's poetic mind. The obvious interpretation regards *rerum* as practically equivalent to the following *mortalia*, in the sense of human fortunes, and as an objective genitive dependent upon the verb idea of weeping involved in *lacrimae*. Thus construed the sense of the line is, "Here are tears for man's adversities and mortal affairs touch the heart."

Later editors and critics have probably been influenced by Henry who objected to the hitherto accepted interpretation. He bases his objections on the following considerations: 1. That *res* without a qualifying attribute cannot mean adversity. 2. That if *res* does mean adversity, *hic etiam* of the preceding line should

be repeated. 3. That where the words *lacrimae rerum* occur again, they cannot possibly mean "tears for adversities." Therefore, Henry finds the line and situation capable of bearing another thought, a thought that is really Vergilian in its beauty and pathos: "Tears are universal, belong to the constitution of nature, and the evils of mortality move the human heart."

Glover apparently adopts Henry's interpretation. He says that Vergil makes it clear that the question of human sorrow "is no accidental or easy one, no side issue, but that it goes to the very depth of man's being and is an integral element of the problem of the universe." (page 319). This is clearly his interpretation of *lacrimae rerum*. Mackail probably had the same conception: "In the most famous of his single lines he speaks of the 'tears of things;' just this sense of tears, this voice that always, in its most sustained splendour and in its most ordinary cadences, vibrates with a strange pathos, is what finally places him alone among artists." (page 103.) Woodberry also shares this belief: "Here are the tears of time. *Lacrimae rerum* seems almost the other name of the *Aeneid*; . . . he was the first to strike that parallel chord of world-woe which has reverberated down all after ages." (Great Writers, page 134.) Matthew Arnold's interpretation is probably the same:

"the Virgilian cry
The sense of tears in mortal things." (Geist's Grave.)

And so apparently also Duff: "There is in Vergil already more than a presage of the Weltschmerz. *Sunt lacrimae* were words born of personal brooding over sorrow." (page 460.) Wordsworth in his *Laodamia* evidently had the *lacrimae rerum* passage in mind:

"Yet tears to human suffering are due;
And mortal hopes defeated and o'erthrown
Are mourned by man, and not by man alone,
As fondly he believes."

His interpretation seems at first to conflict with that of Henry and of the others mentioned, but as he later shows the sympathies of the trees "whose tall summits are withered at the sight," it is possible that he regards the inanimate things of the universe (*rerum*) as feeling with man in his adversities, that is, that his view becomes identical with that of Henry.

Henry could have strengthened his position and gained consistency by making *mentem* refer to the heart of the universe rather than to the heart of man, thus: "Tears belong to the universe (*rerum*) and mortal ills touch its heart." Henry might have cited as proof of Vergil's *anima mundi* belief the famous lines from VI 724-7:

principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
 lucentem globum, lunam Titaniaque astra
 spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.

It is quite possible that what the poet has in the later book represented didactically he has here suggested in his allusive style. There is then no intrinsic difficulty in giving this line the meaning offered by Henry. But the use of *res* so vividly personified would be very strange and perhaps unparalleled. Rivers, mountains, seas, and stars may readily be personified because of the mythic element involved, but *res* is at the farthest remove from such an association. But in answer to this it may be said that if a *mens* is ascribed to the *moles* and to the *magnum corpus* of the universe, it may just as readily be attributed to the neutral *res*. This line of argument leaves us about where we were, excepting that as Henry's interpretation is the less obvious it would seem to need the stronger proof.

We note now Henry's objections to the usual interpretation. 1. That *res* unsupported by an attributive does not seem to mean adversity. True, *res* generally has a qualifying adjective as *adfectus*, *dubius*, and the like but there are exceptions to this practice. We need look no farther back than I 178 for such an exception, *fessi rerum*, "wearied with adversities." *Res* is a colorless word and may borrow significance from its associations. So here the close association of *lacrimae* and *mortalia* directs its meaning more readily into that of 'adversities' than into that of 'the universe.' This interpretation is assisted by the parallelism of the two halves of the line, "There are tears for man's adversities, and mortal ills touch the heart." The interlocked arrangement of the words bears out such an interpretation, *lacrimae* and *mentem* representing the expression or the centre of the emotion, and *rerum* and *mortalia*,

its cause. 2. That if *res* means adversities, *hic etiam* should be repeated. This seems to resolve itself into a matter of punctuation. Conington, Ribbeck, and others place a semi-colon after *laudi* of the preceding line. It seems far better to replace the semi-colon with a comma, as Benoist, Knapp, Fairclough, and others have it. Thus, *hic etiam* would apply equally to the two clauses. This clearly seems to have been the interpretation of Donatus on the line: *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, sunt lacrimae rerum et ipsa propositio est; nam specialiter dicturus est quae laudanda vel quae dolenda sint*. That is, "here are rewards for things which deserve praise and tears for things deserving pity." 3. That where the words *lacrimae rerum* occur again they cannot possibly mean 'tears for adversities.' As the writer referred to (Venantius Fortunatus) lived six centuries after Vergil and wrote under conditions utterly different from those of Vergil's life, it does not seem that we need be influenced by his interpretation of these words. Thus, it seems to me that Henry's objections have less validity than we would expect from a scholar of his penetration.

Tyrrell (Latin Poetry, 147 ff) while in general inclining to Henry's interpretation suggests another which really does violence to that of Henry. Tyrrell thinks that the *rerum* may refer to the material picture and that *mortalia* may mean the 'works of man's hands.' Therefore, according to Tyrrell, the poet means: "E'en things inanimate can weep for us, and the works of man's hands have their own pathetic power." The line just below,

sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani,

'then on the lifeless painting he feeds his heart,' he thinks is in accord with his interpretation. It is hard to see what 'new and exquisite fancy' there could be in the thought that the material picture, the painting on canvas, the statue, or whatever other symbolic form there may be, may sympathize with man and that man may find satisfaction in such a circumstance. I believe the poet's mind was concerned in something more fundamental than this, in the thought back of the symbol rather than in the symbol itself.

Still another point of view is found in Stebbing's fanciful interpretation:

"There is spirit immortal that mounts up on high;
Yet reaches longing hands back to hopes left to die;
There are things that are tears; there are tears that are things;
There are tears that are water and tears that are wings."

We need not suppose that Stebbing insisted on this interpretation as representing exactly the thought of the poet. But it does seem clear that he regards the line as indicating in the mind of Vergil a purpose of identifying things with tears, that is, of making sorrow the essence of the universe. Tears and the sorrow they express are the ultimate realities, and, conversely, the material objects of the universe have a spiritual significance expressed in terms of suffering. This interpretation merely carries out into fuller detail the views of Woodberry and others, indicated above.

However attractive the views of Henry and of his followers may be, I believe the situation requires the other interpretation, the one usually accepted. The incident is one of commemoration. The commemorative instinct of the Romans is amply illustrated by their countless monuments. They conveyed a sort of immortality on those commemorated. Vergil represents that Aeneas coming thus unexpectedly upon the reminders of the events in which he had been a great part feels the hope immortal springing up within him:

solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.

Fama is the commemorative idea and gives significance to the preceding lines. Even here in this remote place of earth (the far extent of fame is a familiar notion in Latin) fame has rewards for the worthy, here pity for man's adversities has produced these commemorative devices, and mortal ills touch the heart of man so as to commemorate them thus. Though the substance of life is lost, a fame like this will bring some measure of safety. True, the picture is empty for after all it is but a commemorative device, a shadow, as it were, of the lost substance, yet he feeds his soul upon it, and his own tears gush forth in sympathy with those which prompted the works of commemoration. This interpretation of *lacrimae rerum* accords well with the context and with the general Roman attitude toward commemoration, and I feel certain must be the one Vergil intended.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

THE GESTURE OF PROSKYNESIS

A favorite device of the Babylonian seal is the representation of a group of three figures, one a divinity, one a person who is being introduced to that divinity, and also the one who introduces him. The second of these has his hand slightly in front of his face in the act of waving a kiss towards the god.

In an article *Gesture in Sumerian and Babylonian Prayer* published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1919, Professor S. Langdon says: "This waving a kiss seems to have been the only gesture of worship in earliest Babylonian times. Kneeling and prostration were then regarded as unworthy of a freeman. Later bowing and prostration were added to the old gesture of salutation with the kissing hand."

The first references in Greek to *proskynesis* are all connected with the customs of the East and are to be found in the *Persians* of Aeschylus or in Herodotus.

Herodotus I, 134 has the first important reference to this mode of adoration, which is thus translated by Rawlinson: "When the Persians meet each other on the streets, you may know if the persons meeting are of equal rank by the following token: if they are, instead of speaking, they kiss each other on the lips. In the case where one is a little inferior to the other, the kiss is given on the cheek; while where the difference is great, the inferior prostrates himself on the ground." It is to be observed that in this translation "kissing" is given as the form of salutation except in that of the lowest rank, where it is simply "prostration." The words which he translates "prostrates himself on the ground" are προσπίπτων προσκυνέει. The verb προσκυνέω is clearly derived from κυνέω "I kiss" and πρὸς "towards." We evidently have in this passage in Herodotus the description of the very custom named by Professor Langdon, that is, prostration added to the old gesture of waving a kiss. Those of equal rank kiss the lips, one slightly inferior kisses the cheek, one greatly inferior does not dare to kiss the body of the superior but waves a kiss as he prostrates himself.

The idea of *proskynesis* as involving merely the waving of a kiss still survives in Lucian, since in describing the adoration of Helios he uses the words "kissing the hand," τῇ χειρὶ κίσαρτες, *De Saltatione* 17. In his *Encomium Demosthenis* 49 an assumed spectator of that orator's death tells how Demosthenes moved his hand to his mouth as if in the act of *proskynesis* and thus drank the poison.

The word used in this last passage could not mean prostration, but must denote some such gesture as that pictured by the seals of Babylon.

Sittl in his *Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* connects this word with *κύνειν* and translates it *anhündeln*, "to fawn like a dog," but there can be little doubt that he is wrong and that the derivation is from *κύνειν*, "I kiss."

The meaning given by most translators, the scholia, and lexicons is "prostration" but this is only a derived or attendant meaning, since often no such gesture is involved. The custom as well as the word itself shows that the original gesture involved in *proskynesis* was simply the waving of a kiss.

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SCHLIEMANN AND INDIANAPOLIS

There is a wide-spread tradition that Henry Schliemann, the great excavator, made his fortune as a grocer in Indianapolis, that he sold all his interests in that city and then excavated Troy. It is spoken of as an act of ingratitude that he should have forgotten the associates among whom his fortune was created and should have given his discovered treasures to Athens and Berlin.

The most careful study of his various autobiographies and biographies does not reveal a single reference to the state of Indiana or to its capital.

An article by Elbert Hubbard in *The Philistine* for August 1902 is the source of the tradition of the grocery business in Indianapolis. This article, slightly condensed, is as follows: "Once upon a day there was a grocer who lived in Indianapolis, and this grocer's name was Henry Schliemann. He made money rapidly, for in addition to a grocery he had a feed barn and had men on the road selling for him in the adjoining states. Schliemann grew rich, opened up a city division which greatly added to his fortune. He had other ambitions than added fortunes or success in politics, withdrew from business in the year 1868, turned all his property into cash; and in April 1870 began to excavate Troy. His Trojan treasures were presented to Berlin. Had Schliemann given his priceless finds to Indianapolis, it would have made that city a Sacred Mecca."

From Schliemann's own writings we learn that he was born in Germany in 1822 and that at the age of fourteen he began working in a wretched grocery where he labored in misery and poverty for nearly six years, until his health forced him to seek other employment, and that penniless and ill he walked to Hamburg. He then tried to go to South America, was shipwrecked, came to Amsterdam, where he worked for four years, then he went to St. Petersburg. He remained in business in Russia, with slight interruptions, until 1863, and this business was the handling of indigo, cotton, tea, and two or three other staple articles. In 1863 he had won such wealth that he decided to retire and to take up the dream of his childhood, the recovery of the city of Troy.

In 1850 he had come to California in search of a brother and, by chance, was in that state on July 4, 1850, when California was admitted as a state into the Union. A proclamation had been made that all foreigners then in California could become citizens by declaring themselves before the proper authorities. Schliemann availed himself of that offer and became an Ameri-

can citizen, a fact in which he took the greatest pride during all his life, and on the title-page of his great book *Mycenae* there appear under his name the words CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

After retiring from business he traveled around the world and in 1866 he began the study of Archaeology. On p. 25 of his *Selbstbiographie* he says: "From 1866 until now I have devoted myself to Archaeology, except when compelled by chance to make a short trip to America."

In 1868 he visited the Troad and wrote a book in which he expressed the belief that Hissarlik is the true site of Troy and he also announced his determination to excavate at once, but he delayed for some reason, since in the *Introduction* to his *Ilios* he says: "Circumstances obliged me to remain nearly the whole of the year 1869 in the United States."

His biographer, Julius Nelson, says p. 48. "The plan to excavate Troy could not be realized at once, for he saw himself obliged through business affairs to spend almost the entire year of 1869 in North America."

What was the pressing business in America which forced even the enthusiastic Schliemann to delay so long the cherished plans?

I owe the answer to this mysterious question to my friend, Mr. John C. Shaffer, owner of the Indianapolis Star, who put not only his great ability at my disposal, but his literary and legal staff as well. They started without a trace of information and found the following interesting facts, not one of which is in Schliemann's autobiography, or in Nelson, or in Schuckhard.

Schliemann was married to a Russian lady who bore him three children, but she was so opposed to his enthusiasm for Homer and Greece that he was obliged to make a choice between his wife and his aspirations, meanwhile he had met a young woman whose enthusiasm for Homer made the choice less difficult, and he resolved to come to America since he had been a citizen for nearly twenty years to secure a divorce. He decided upon Indianapolis, as being near the same latitude as Troy and he would thus accustom himself to the climate in which he expected to work, and he was also informed that no state was more generous regarding the obtaining of a divorce.

When Schliemann came to Indianapolis he had not yet won any fame and he thus attracted little attention. He rented a small house, engaged in no business except he bought an interest in the Union Starch Company in order that he might have better standing in court, and he also bought a small house for the same reason, the deed of which was made to Henry Schliemann, an American citizen.

He filed a bill for divorce April 3, 1869, and the divorce was granted June 30 in the same year, after assurance was given the court that ample provision had been made for his wife and three children in St. Petersburg. The names of these three children, Sergius, Natalia, and Nadeschda, show that Hellenic influences were not in the ascendancy in his Russian home, and that a man who allowed his wife to give these names to his children could hardly expect she would sacrifice comforts in her enthusiasm for the home of Priam. One smiles as he compares with these names, the Andromache and the Agememnon of his second marriage.

Schliemann soon returned to Greece and sold the house he had purchased in Indianapolis, and on the deed of transfer are signed the names, Henry Schliemann, an American citizen, and Sophie Schliemann, his wife.

Soon after this Schliemann found it necessary to appeal for the help of the American consul in dealing with the Turks, and to obtain standing with the consul he decided to buy another house in Indianapolis. This second house he bought through a man now living, but Schliemann never saw this second house. In his will he bequeathed it to his youngest daughter by his Russian marriage and it is still in her possession.

Schliemann's will was recorded in Indianapolis and it begins with these words: "I the undersigned citizen of the United States of America, Henry Schliemann, having my lawful domicile in the town of Indianapolis, in the state of Indiana, in the United States of America, residing in my own house in Athens."

His Russian wife and children are given large properties, but the name of the second child, Natalia, does not appear. She had probably died.

The bulk of his fortune went to his Athenian family, but he made many and various bequests to all sorts of peoples and institutions.

In his Autobiography he tells of a little girl, Minna Meincke, who shared with him in childhood his enthusiasm for Troy, and of their resolve to marry and recover the city, and he tells how when fortune came to him he endeavored to marry this Minna, but too late for she was already Frau Richers. It makes one smile to read in the will, paragraph 14. "To Minna Meincke Richers five thousand francs in gold."

That fine gentleman and great excavator, William Dörpfeld, is given ten thousand drachmae.

His will contains the plans for his mausoleum and a signed contract for its construction. Evidently the contractor had no anticipation of ascending prices.

He bequeathed in the will ten thousand francs in gold to Professor A. H. Sayce of Oxford, but ten days later he added a codicil with these words: "I annul paragraph 18 of my will, by which I had bequeathed to Professor A. H. Sayce ten thousand francs in gold." No doubt something had been heard or read in these ten days which caused that codicil.

The will is dated Jan. 10, 1889. Schliemann died Dec. 26, 1890.

The Librarian of the Indianapolis Public Library informs me that the name of Henry Schliemann never appeared in the Directory of that city.

The evidence in regard to Schliemann and Indianapolis is as follows: He made none of his fortune there, but lived there for a brief period in order to secure a divorce from a wife who opposed his ambitions. Later he acquired and held a residence in Indianapolis so that he might maintain the status of an American citizen and thus secure the help of the American consul in dealing with the Sublime Porte. This help was indispensable, since during the years of his excavations the influence of Germany at Constantinople was negligible, and Russia was regarded as an enemy by the rulers of the Dardanelles.

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Hints for Teachers

By B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish high-school teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be answered in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials, which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

The following books will furnish much valuable material to the teacher and student. All may be placed in the hands of students; Nos. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12 are intended for use in schools as textbooks. Particularly useful are Nos. 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15.

1. Anderson, Jessie M., *A Study of English Words*, 1897. American Book Co. \$0.72. School text, emphasizing history.
2. Blackburn, E. M., *The Study of Words*. 1911. Longmans. \$1.25. A handy dictionary of words of interesting derivation.
3. Bradley, H., *The Making of English*. 1904. Macmillan. \$2.00. Interesting and authoritative.
4. Emerson, O. F., *The History of the English Language*. 1897. Macmillan. \$2.25. Standard work. Rather weak on the Latin element. Either this or No. 8.
5. Greenough, J. B., and Kittredge, G. L., *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*. 1901. Macmillan. \$2.10. Interesting, authoritative, fuller than Nos. 3 and 11. Lacks system.
6. Kellogg, B., and Reed, A., *The English Language*. New ed., 1892. Chas. E. Merrill Co. An unpretentious school book, but of some value, especially for list of roots.
7. Kellogg, B., and Reed, A., *Word-Building*. 1903. Chas. E. Merrill Co. List of roots with derivatives.
8. Lounsbury, T. R., *The History of the English Language*. Revised ed., 1894. Holt. \$1.60. Standard work. Rather weak on the Latin element. Few examples.
9. Meiklejohn, J. M. D., *History of the English Language*. American edition, revised, 1909. D. C. Heath. \$0.72. Best of the school grammars for this purpose.
10. Scott, H. F., and Carr, W. L., *The Development of Language*. 1921. Scott, Foresman and Co. \$1.20. An excellent little book intended for high-school pupils.
11. Smith, L. P., *The English Language*. 1912. Holt. \$0.90. Interesting.
12. Swan, Norma L., *Word Study for High Schools*. 1920. Macmillan. \$0.80. For word formation.
13. Trench, R. C., *On the Study of Words*. 1892. \$1.00.

14. Trench, R. C., *English Past and Present*. Revised ed. by A. S. Palmer. 1905. \$1.00.
15. Weekley, E., *The Romance of Words*. 1912. Dutton. \$2.50. Very interesting and scholarly. Best collection of interesting etymologies, especially of words of Latin origin.

Latin in France

An editorial in the January number of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* quotes a letter from Paul Van Dyke to the *New York Times* in which M. Léon Bérard, the French Minister of Public Instruction, is represented as favoring a plan to increase the requirements in Latin in the French schools. Superintendent R. Eton Emry, of the Perkins County High School, Grant, Neb., calls to my attention an article in the *Pathfinder* for Feb. 18, 1922, in which M. Bérard is represented as favoring the removal of Latin from the curriculum or at least a reduction in the requirements. Mr. Emry inquires which of these contradictory reports is correct. An inquiry which I sent to the French ambassador brought this reply from Julien J. Champenois, 1834 Broadway, New York, Director in the United States of the National Bureau of French Universities:

In the first place, the account given in the *Pathfinder* of February the 18th is quite inaccurate. The letter of my friend, Dr. Paul Van Dyke, in the *New York Times* is a reliable summary of the position of M. Léon Bérard, our Minister of Public Instruction.

I must add that the question is far less simple than it appears to be. From the *Educational Review*, Feb. 1922, pages 174, 175 and 176, you will see that there is a clash of opinions and tendencies between M. Bérard in person and the Superior Council of Public Instruction. In order to submit to you complete information concerning the present state of Latin studies in France, I am sending you, under separate cover, a set of the *Information universitaire* which is complete up to date with the exception of No. 3. You will find the "questionnaire" sent out by the Minister of Public Instruction on the fourth page of No. 2. This periodical also contains a considerable number of remarkable articles on the teaching of Latin in France.

The copies of the *Information universitaire* mentioned above fully support the statements of Mr. Van Dyke and Mr. Champenois as to the attitude of M. Bérard and M. Appell.

Third Semester Latin

Miss June Eddingfield, of the Mishawaka, Ind., High School, writes:

We have found it necessary to extend elementary Latin into the third semester because our pupils receive so little instruction in English grammar before they begin the study of Latin that we make rather slow progress. Of course all classes do not accomplish the same amount of work in a given time and so we decided to go as far as the class could reasonably go the first two semesters and to use whatever part of the third semester was needed and then to go into Caesar. The results have been pleasing. In addition to the increased strength of the pupils there is a decided advantage to beginning Caesar within the semester, rather than at the beginning of the year. To take up the Gallic War after a vacation period, when vocabulary and rules are more or less rusty, is a much more discouraging task than beginning with a period of study

immediately behind one. Last year one of my classes began Caesar about Thanksgiving (1920) and we easily completed the four books by the end of the year. This year the fall section began Caesar a few weeks earlier and it looks as if they would complete the work well.

Latin Composition

Miss Irma E. Hamilton, of the Sebring, Ohio, High School, writes:

The last ten minutes of each recitation period are devoted to study preparatory to composition work. The first day the class reads the grammar in regard to a given construction. The class discusses the possibility of another construction in place of the one studied. One or two periods are spent in finding examples in their reading. Here again encouragement is given to discussion of the reason for its use by the author. Some constructions will not give opportunity for discussion. Then follows a rapid inspection of the sentences to be written, during which the points of difficulty are noted. The fifth day they write the sentences. Unless the sentences are very easy, they are written in class. On that day the entire period is spent on composition.

With this method the pupils do not worry about composition, and are quite willing to try original stories.

The objection to this plan is that the equivalent of two periods a week is devoted to the sentence work and to the study preparing for it.

Miss M. Ella Wilkinson, of the Elkhart, Ind., High School, writes:

Two days before the time for the composition lesson, which we have one day a week, I go over the rules for the following lesson in class, illustrating each carefully by simple sentences in both English and Latin. In my assignment for the lesson, each pupil is required to bring into class an original sentence in both English and Latin to illustrate each rule studied. I also assign six or seven sentences from the group in the prose book, selecting those that best illustrate the rules studied. I prefer that they give careful attention to a few sentences. I make the assignment in advance to give pupils sufficient time to work out the lesson carefully.

At the time of the recitation, the rules are recited rapidly, and various pupils are called upon for an illustration, giving both English and Latin forms of sentence from memory, unless very long. Then I ask if any one has had trouble with the assigned sentences. If so, that is explained. We are now ready for the main work of the lesson. I have on the board sentences, new to the class, but covering the rules of the lesson. The class write these at sight, stating after each the rule illustrated. The sentences prepared before class, and those written in class are all handed in, and the grade for the day's lesson is estimated from these. The papers are returned, and mistakes explained.

We do this throughout the Caesar and Cicero work. The last six weeks of the Junior work, we spend on college entrance questions from various colleges. This gives a general review of the work of the year. The final examination is one of the college entrance examinations which they have not seen. They are able to handle this work well by this time. I always give special tests in prose aside from the regular Caesar and Cicero text examination.

Sometimes we vary the work. Instead of the regular lesson from the book, I have them write a paragraph or a short composition on the World War or some phase of it. They are familiar with the vocabulary for this from their Caesar, and they quite

enjoy the change. There are other topics, as the Saturnalia, that they can do very well.

Here again there is a possible objection in the amount of time devoted to composition.

Miss Julia LeClerc Knox, of the Crawfordsville, Ind., High School, writes:

Latin Composition need not be the "bogy man" it too often is for both pupil and teacher.

I have found the following method very effective in all my classes. As they enter the room they hand me their papers on which the sentences of the day's lesson are written. Then I select two pupils to "choose sides." These captains line up their teams at opposite boards and assign a sentence to each to be translated. Each captain selects a student to keep tally of mistakes and if one team gets through before the other, as many marks are counted against the slower team as there are persons left at the board.

They are required to work their sentences at the board without any notes or help from any one. They are permitted to use their grammar and vocabulary but if any one sees a mistake in his work after he once takes his seat, it is against the rules of the game to correct it.

The captains change sides and correct the work. The other pupils too are expected to offer criticism. The teacher acts simply as umpire. The grammatical rule which the sentence illustrates must be briefly summarized below the sentence and the number of the exact article and paragraph of the article must be given. This demands close study of the grammar and obtains excellent results. It is also a good plan to have underlined the part of the sentence illustrating the rule.

After the mistakes are all pointed out and explained, the persons making them are supposed to correct them as the captains go back over the work, and if all mistakes are not righted, they are counted against the team to which the defaulting student belongs.

Those whose work is absolutely correct get their names on the Roll of Honor, which occupies a corner of the board. The name stays there until a mistake is made and every time the same person has correct work a number is put after his name. One had 16 marks after her name this term and a number of others had quite a few marks. This acts as a stimulus to all the classes who come into the room and they all try to have the best representation on the Honor Roll.

I like the competitive principle very much, but the requirement that the students give the exact reference in the grammar by paragraph number strikes me as highly undesirable.

E Pluribus Unum

Several alert correspondents call my attention to possible classical prototypes for this phrase which I did not mention in the February "Hints." I did not overlook these references but deliberately omitted them. I admit that in thought such passages as Cicero, *de amic.* 92 (*ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus*), to which Professor Lofberg calls my attention, and *de off.* 56 (. . . *in amicitia, ut unus fiat ex pluribus*), which Professor Hooper notes, come closer to our national motto than the passage from the *Moretum*. But

formally they are weak because *ex* is used instead of *e* and *unus* comes before *ex pluribus*. As a matter of fact I doubt whether any particular classical passage was the immediate source of our phrase.

Conundrums and Jingles

Mrs. L. M. C. Conger, of the Chaffey Union High School, Ontario, Cal., sends the following, for which she does not claim credit:

"If Caesar *orders* his soldiers to fight, do they obey?" "*Iubet.*" (You bet.)

"What *name* do old maids love?" "*No-men.*"

"What corn product is good for a *person*?" "*Homini.*" (Hominy.)

As previously suggested, such punning sentences may be used in games. Mrs. Conger adds:

The following is an ancient tomb inscription, and depends partly upon the arrangement:

o	tua	te
be	bia	abit
ra	ra	ra es
in	ram	ram ram
	i	i

quod sum, mox eris.

Which, being interpreted, means

o superbe, tua superbia te superabit.
terra es
in terram
ibis
quod sum, mox eris.

("ra" three times is "ter-ra"; "i" twice is "i-bis.")

This is said to date from the Middle Ages: "Malo malo in malo quam vivere malo," and to mean, "I should rather live with an apple on a mast than with a bad person."

The following will puzzle even a wise senior for a few moments: "Mea, pater, in silvam, tuum filium lupus est." The point is that *mea* is not here from his well-known friend *meus*, but from the verb *meo*, and *est* is from *edo*, which makes the meaning clear.

I may add here a clever version of "The Young Lady of Niger," sent in by Miss Alice A. Hoge, of Richmond, Va.:

Puella Nigrensis ridebat
Quam tigris in dorso vehebat.
Externa profecta
Interna revecta
Et risus cum tigre manebat.

Learning the Participles

A device for learning the very important Latin participles is suggested by Miss Jessie D. Newby, of Oklahoma City, Okla.:

To teach participles I often resort to a simple expedient. I ask each to cross his first fingers like an X. Then I draw a large X on the board. Developed as the "right hand stick" and the "left hand stick," we find the first is the present stem, the other, the supine stem. On the upper end of the first is *ns*, *nis* to form the present

active participle; on the lower end, is the future passive or gerundive formed by adding *-ndus, -a, -um*. The left hand stick is shorter than the right. On the upper end is *-us, -a, -um* to give the much used perfect passive participle; on the lower end is *-urus, -a, -um* to give the future active participle. If a pupil is asked to make a picture of participles, it looks something like this:

	Act.		Pass.
Pres.	+ns (ntis)		
Perf.		<i>nes</i>	+us, -a, -um.
Fut.	+urus, -a, -um	<i>stern</i>	+ndus, -a, -um.

Participles give them little trouble when thus presented.

Questions and Answers

Where can I secure an inexpensive book of mediæval Latin hymns together with a metrical translation in English?

F. A. March, *Latin Hymns*, has selected hymns, with notes, for college classes, but no translation.

What are the present college entrance requirements in Latin? May we read some of Ovid in the third year?

Few colleges, especially in the West, will refuse to accept a course of study in Latin taken in a good school. There might be some question raised about the amount of reading but none about the material itself.

Book Reviews

The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art. BY RHYS CARPENTER. Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs. I. New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1921. 12 mo. viii+263 pp. \$1. 50.

This compact and well printed volume has two distinct merits: an unusual sensitiveness to the various forms of Greek art, including those often unjustly called 'minor,' and hints of a clear view of certain fundamental æsthetic problems. Unfortunately, these two qualities do not work together. There is a lack of definite progression from one point to another, a lack of proportion between the several parts, and a tendency to draw comparisons between incommensurable groups of facts. The result is a book which often stimulates but sometimes bewilders, and which on the whole does not live up to the promise of its title.

The kernel of the author's æsthetic doctrine is expressed in these words: "It is a plausible theory that one essential distinction between esthetic and ordinary contemplation is the appreciation of abstract formal values in the field of vision and the fusion of these with the normal process of recognition of the objects, so that there results an emotional (instead of a merely pragmatic or practical) apprehension" (p. 37); and again, speaking of the æsthetic emotion, "This new thing, which may be surprisingly intense and vivid, *is not discoverable either in the represented object per se or in the mere formal value of the lines used.* It is a product of the fusion, often as unexpected and as novel as a chemical reaction" (p. 43; author's italics); and finally, "Pure form to the detriment of representational fidelity, or representational fidelity to the detriment of pure form—both are esthetically mistaken; for both tend to suppress an essential factor of the artistic appeal" (p. 51). This, surely, is excellently put; but he does not go on to specify just how these general considerations bear on Greek art. Indeed, he fails to distinguish between what the Greeks did because they were Greeks, and what they did because they were the first race to apply a certain type of mind to artistic problems. Nor is he always successful in comparing Greek results with those of later periods; one of the worst examples is the following: "The symbolism of Greek coins was a kind of picture-writing; but it was not a hieratic script with an esoteric meaning for the initiate (as Christian iconography was at times), nor was there anything arbitrary and inevident in the relation between symbol and meaning, as tends to be the case when symbolism has literary or ritual associations" (p. 23). But a coin is not a place where we should naturally look for esoteric doctrine; certainly mediæval coins made little use of Christian symbolism, and to compare a Greek coin with a mediæval church-front would be obviously absurd. Moreover, it requires at least a knowledge of Greek to see the connection between a rose and Rhodes.

The opening chapter, "The Subject-Matter of Greek Art," is the shortest and the least satisfactory; the second, "The Forms of Artistic Presentation," which includes the general statements quoted above, is much better; the third and fourth apply the author's ideas to sculpture and architecture

respectively. The former illustrates his merits in the sketch of the development of Greek sculpture (pp. 114-26), which is admirably condensed and lucid, and his defects in the by no means lucid doctrine of one-, two-, and three-dimensional methods of space presentation. Similar traits mark the fourth chapter; and as it is perhaps the most novel portion of the whole, it may be worth while to devote the remainder of our space to it.

The author has felt justly the effect of Greek atmosphere in flattening form, and the resultant "two-dimensional" quality of Greek architecture; he has seen that its special appeal lies in its extreme sensitiveness to contours, that "the broken line from step to akroterion is amazingly clarifying, in that it so clearly distinguishes and emphasizes every member of the Order (p. 223); and has noted how the entire linear pattern, from the opposition of the insistent verticals and insistent horizontals even to the flutings with their quickened rhythm as they pass around the columns, is a product of the need to translate ideas of bulk, solidity, and weight into two dimensions. What he says of Greek interiors is less just, for we have none in their original state, and the coldness and flatness of restorations can hardly teach us anything about the æsthetic qualities of the originals. In the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, a purely rectangular interior with colonnades, I have never, after repeated visits, failed to be impressed with a sense of "space enclosed"—a rhythmic space told off in portions from column to column like beads on a rosary, not imposing in one mighty bulk like the Pantheon—but still emphatically "space enclosed."

He has seen, too, that the Greek habit of outdoor life favored this quality—that architecture was normally a background rather than an enfolding shelter. Yet, failing to grasp the relation of these two facts, he at least implies (p. 224) that ignorance of the importance of effects of enclosed space is something inherent in the Greek nature. Yet Hagia Sophia is surely a work of Greek genius, produced, on Greek soil, under a new stimulus and with imperial resources. Consequently, he finds himself obliged to invent a plausible but scarcely necessary hypothesis (the tendency of architecture to create an artificial world for its own imitation) to explain the permanence of Greek architectural units (p. 186). Surely the repetition of Greek plan and units could be quite simply and sufficiently explained by that very simplicity of purpose on which he dilates, and the poverty of resources which he fails to mention. If Gothic plans are complicated, it is first of all because of their adaptation to a complicated ritual, with laity and clergy of varying ranks to minister and worship, and with a whole hierarchy of celestial powers to be worshipped in one cathedral. Besides, the same permanence is found in Greek pottery; and, however exquisite the contours of a typical cylix or lebes, the very decoration shows that it was not "two-dimensional."

The difficulty of giving a fair idea of the book in brief compass is not due to its compression; mere compression can be expanded. It is due rather to the fashion in which the more and the less excellent parts are blended. An inexperienced reader would be often puzzled, sometimes misled; but one who is able to control and estimate its statements will find it eminently stimulating and suggestive, even where it compels dissent.

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- Etruscan Tomb Paintings: Their Subjects and Significance.* By FREDERIK POULSEN. Translated by INGEBORG ANDERSEN, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. Pp. 63. Figs. 45.
- Greek Vase-Painting.* By ERNST BUSCHOR. Translated by G. C. RICHARDS; with a Preface by PERCY GARDNER. London: Chatto & Windus, 1921. Pp. xii+180. Illusts. 160.
- History of Art. Vol. 1: Ancient Art.* By ELIE FAURE. Translated by WALTER PACH. Harper & Brothers: N. Y. and London, 1921. Pp. xlix+306. Illustrated.

It would almost seem that the translator of foreign "scientific" works is coming into his own again. These three important volumes, appearing in an English garb, have recently followed one another in close succession—rendered from the Danish, the German and the French, respectively. The trio, being of inter-related subject-matter and bearing each the stamp of authoritative-ness, should prove a valuable addition to the library of the art student.

Dr. Poulsen, the distinguished Keeper of the Classical Department of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen, has recently become familiar to English-speaking peoples through the translation of his monumental work on Delphi (*Delphi*; Gyldendal, London, 1920). Studies in Etruscan Art have somewhat languished during the early part of the twentieth century, apparently by reason of the attention of many scholars being so potently drawn towards the newly-discovered Aegean culture, and partly through the extraordinary influence exerted by the great work of Martha (*L'art étrusque*, 1889) which seemed, verily, the "last word" on the subject. But a revival seems imminent. While the popular account of Etruria by Miss M. L. Cameron (*Old Etruria and Modern Tuscany*, 1909) and the dissertation on Etruscan graves by Von Stryk (*Die etruskischen Kammergräber*, 1910) are unimportant from the scholar's point of view, the first volume of a long-promised work by the great authority Fritz Weege (*Etruskische Malerei*, Halle, 1921) has just been published. The text, however, treats rather of society and religion than of the actual paintings. The present work of Poulsen appeared first in Danish in 1919, but in the preface to the English edition the author expresses himself as not inclined to make any alterations in his text in view of the studies of Weege.

In the *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*—which is a volume of no great size—Dr. Poulsen preserves the *ariston metron* which is so conspicuous in his work on Delphi, in either case treating a big subject briefly, employing a rigid economy of words without falling into obscurity, and covering the whole field without sketchiness or resorting to a diluted solution. The numerous illustrations are executed with much higher scientific accuracy than we find to be the case in the older works on Etruscan art. It is unfortunate that the pictures could not have been reproduced in their original polychrome form, but that, I suppose, was under the circumstances out of the question.

In his Preface to Buschor's *Greek Vase-Painting*, Prof. Percy Gardner records his planning, several years ago, to write a comprehensive history of ancient pottery; but difficulties which interfered with the proper illustration

of the book led to the abandoning of the project. It is greatly to be regretted that a matter so purely mechanical should have occasioned the loss to students of so valuable a work as we might confidently expect from the pen of this veteran scholar, whose studies in various departments of ancient art have proved uniformly illuminating. A work of this sort, in English, has long been a desideratum. Miss Herford's book (*A Handbook of Greek Vase-Painting*, 1919), while excellent in its way, is little more than an introduction to the subject, while its illustrations are inadequate. The work of Walters (*History of Ancient Pottery*, 1905) is already antiquated. Buschor's *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, which reached its second edition in 1921, is thoroughly up to date and fairly comprehensive. It suffers, however, from a lack of reference-notes and a bibliography, both of which are really indispensable in a subject possessing so vast a literature as does Greek vase-painting. The book, undoubtedly, is the best of its kind available for the translator, though a history of Greek pottery by Prof. J. C. Hoppin or Mr. J. D. Beazley would surely be more heartily welcomed. The translation has been executed by Mr. G. C. Richards, the eminent Oxford linguist who is already well-known as the translator of Poulén's *Delphi*. While the work seems very accurate, the rendering is done with an almost painful degree of literalness which not infrequently gives rise to difficult reading and even obscurity.

It is unfortunate that the publishers of the *Greek Vase-Painting* did not see fit to reproduce the form of the original volume as faithfully as has Mr. Richards the text. The illustrations are—with slight modifications—identical; but instead of following the German scheme, where space is carefully economized, the designers have deliberately "padded" the book, by means of unnecessarily large type, clumsy paper, and by the introduction of plates—apparently with an eye to commercial considerations. Thus bulk and price have been increased threefold; the only improvement is the addition of an Index.

It would be impossible in a brief review to do justice to a work of the unusual and original type which we have in the *Ancient Art* of E. Faure. The book might well have been named "The Psychology of Artistic Development" rather than by the title which it bears. The reader is at first somewhat numbed mentally owing to the overshadowing personality of the author which everywhere pervades the book. In the Preface to the First Edition (French, 1909) and again in that of the New Edition (1920), he presents a rather gratuitous analysis of his own mental processes and his emotions; and when one has read through the whole, he somehow cannot rid himself of the impression that he has learned considerably more regarding M. Faure than he has about ancient art. It is often quite impossible to accept his conclusions. In his chapter on the origin of art, e.g., he wholly ignores the light which has been thrown on the question by the studies of modern anthropologists and students of primitive magic and religion; and the scientific accuracy which is claimed for him by his translator—on the grounds of his being a physician by profession—is difficult to discern. Nevertheless, the work is thoroughly stimulating and inspiring reading, reflecting as it does the attempt of a mind to comprehend a great subject in its entirety.

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Editorial

THE MADISON MEETING IN RETROSPECT

[We are indebted for this review to Mr. D. S. White,
of the Central High School, Minneapolis.]

Good cheer, good weather, well-balanced programs, and a closer sympathy between secondary school and college Latin departments marked the eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. High points were: appeals for better teaching of Latin and Greek, together with a wider reading acquaintance with Greek and Latin authors outside the classroom, and the restoration of the Humanities as disciplinary and cultural studies to their former position of prominence in secondary curricula.

Nearly one hundred and fifty teachers were in regular attendance, whether the occasion of the gathering dealt with obscure etymology or with the testing of the University's kitchen artists.

In contrast with the public's general impression of the spirit which marks both the characters and the assemblages of classicists, wit and humor occupied a conspicuous place throughout the session. Professor Lord of Oberlin led the way with a paper on "How to End a Story." He cited instances of bathetic endings from the Hebraic, Greek, and Roman literatures, including the story of Jonah, the death of Stephen, Hennessey and Mr. Dooley's colloquy on Benjamin Franklin, Horace on the beauties of country life, in which is featured Alfus the money-lender, Herodotus' history of the battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis, citations from Thucydides and Xenophon, and closing with the deaths of Caesar and Cicero. Professor McCartney of Northwestern University, whose paper on "Ancient Wit and Humor" proved too lengthy for the time limit, was recalled by his audience and requested to complete his list of Greek and Roman jokes.

The Greek fans were regaled with two papers of especial merit. Professor John Lofberg of the University of Texas, in "Athenian Traits in American Politics," showed the similarity of the Athenian democracy, which originated with Pericles, to the American democracy of Andrew Jackson. He drew an analogy between the ancient and modern belief that a man who is successful in business or a profession is qualified to succeed in the business of politics. The other paper was given by Doctor Gertrude Smith of the University of Chicago on "Greek Lawgivers." Miss Smith emphasized the methods of introducing laws and the difficulty with which they were changed because of the Greek's belief in the divine origin of laws.

There were papers of particular interest to the secondary school teacher. William F. Palmer of West High School, Cleveland, in his paper "On Translating Vergil," pointed out that pupils should be encouraged to translate in verse form. After explaining the requisites of a good translation, mastery of Latin and English, poetic instinct, and knowledge of the Roman spirit, Mr. Palmer dwelt at some length upon the dignity and beauty of certain passages in the *Aeneid* and closed with his own verse translation of Aeneas' soliloquy in *Aeneid* II upon the discovery of Helen crouching by the altar, and the passage in *Aeneid* VI, where Aeneas meets Anchises. After the paper Professor D'Ooge suggested that talented pupils should be encouraged to undertake special passages for verse translation and mentioned a class which he visited where the roll-call was given by memorized selections.

Professor H. Osborne Ryder of Hamline University illustrated with crayon five ways of teaching Latin by the use of geometrical devices, namely, gender of the declensions, how to tell the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse, how to illustrate the meaning of Greek and Latin prepositions, how to illustrate seven kinds of word order, and how to differentiate between subjective and objective genitives.

Miss Irene McLean of Indianapolis explained the district and county Latin contests in her state, including the rules that governed them, the qualifications of the judges, the objectives, the content of the contests, and the results published in "Res Latinae."

Miss Leta Wilson of the Madison High School painted a gloomy picture of the eighth grader's knowledge of English. Without placing the blame, she cited it as a fact that too large a proportion of our Freshman Latin pupils are woefully weak in the comprehension of parts of speech, meaning of words, spelling, and sentence analysis. She showed that, because of ignorance of the sequence of the letters of the alphabet, the dictionary, if not actually valueless, was to the average ninth grader discouragingly cumbersome. Miss Wilson stressed the need of aiming at a few important objectives and of resorting to constant summaries and reviews.

In the absence of Mason D. Gray of Rochester, N. Y., who was to give a résumé of the plans and progress of the classical investigation, Mr. McDuffee of the Springfield, Mass., Central High School and Professor E. L. Carr of Oberlin College covered this topic. After explaining the origin, organization, purpose, objectives, and progress to date, Mr. McDuffee spoke of the great assistance given by the United States Bureau of Education, and the nature of the questionnaire now prepared for ascertaining (a) the enrollment of Latin students, (b) the requirements of schools in Greek and Latin together with the amount for which credit is given, and (c) the amount of training considered necessary for an efficient Latin teacher. Then followed in detail mention of various sources from which material would be secured for the final report on the Classical Investigation. Mr. McDuffee concluded with the statement that, in accordance with the scope of the investigation, which is surpassing any other in any field of like nature, the committee expects the report to be the most comprehensive, definite, and constructive that has ever been published. Mr. Carr emphasized the aims of the investigation and summed up the whole as an endeavor of classical scholars to find out "what kind of a pupil in what kind of a method under what kind of a teacher could obtain the best results."

Miss Frances Sabin introduced her subject, "A Laboratory for Training Latin Teachers and for Serving the Interests of Latin in the State," with a citation of the commendable points about the Survey. One was that it was a nation-wide movement, whether it led to anything or not; that Latin teachers all over

the country were united in co-operation; that teachers all over the country were expressing opinions about methods of teaching; that concrete proofs were being gathered with which to fortify arguments previously advanced by classicists in justification of methods and subject-matter. With regard to the laboratory for training teachers, Miss Sabin explained that the task was to show teachers what they may accomplish in the classroom. The basis of making Latin interesting consisted in making children know what Latin is about and in supplying material as a proof that they are obtaining definite objectives. Miss Sabin's exhibit of an enormous array of orderly material in Room 260, Bascom Hall, was an eloquent proof that she was equipped to train Latin teachers, and in a concrete way was serving the interests of Latin in the state of Wisconsin.

Professor Weller, president of the Association, assured the Latin teachers that Latin was holding its own, despite fads and educational disruption. He maintained that no Latin teacher could achieve her best who had not been schooled in Greek; that a new era of classical scholarship was just starting. Mr. Weller expressed his belief that the great defect of the Latin teacher today is that she does too little reading of classical authors. He suggested that a committee of five be chosen to lay out a reading course which would provide credits. His conviction was that the great need for the advance of classical scholarship is for the Greek and Latin teacher to do a lot of reading in the original Greek and Latin.

Professor Leigh Alexander contributed an interesting philological paper, and Mrs. Million regaled the conference with savors and flavors from an old Roman cook-book. We all regretted the absence of Professor Ullman, who was to have read a paper on "Our Latin English Language," but he was detained at home by an unfortunate accident.

Saturday forenoon, the last session, brought three fascinating and soul-restful papers by Professor Dean and Miss Grace Goodwin, who gave illustrated talks on our American classical schools at Athens and Rome respectively, and by Professor John Scott, who gave a truly remarkable talk on Schliemann, including

some studies and discoveries of his own in the life of this famous archaeologist.

The social side of the conference was not neglected. A reception was held at the home of President Birge, a dinner given by local members of the association, after which a reception was provided for the women and a smoker for the men. An informal luncheon was given at the close of the last program, after which the visitors who remained until evening were treated to an automobile ride about the city and to the farther side of Lake Mendota.

At the business meeting, Professor Louis Lord of Oberlin was elected President for the coming year, Miss Dutton of Tennessee, Vice-President, and Professor Rollin H. Tanner of Denison University was retained as Secretary-Treasurer. The president was empowered to choose a committee for considering a definite move to encourage first-hand reading of Greek and Latin authors.

Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton University concluded the program with a brief address on the present situation in the classical field. He maintained that the six-year classical high school will be the challenge and solution for all other curriculum problems and that it can be carried at no greater cost. After touching upon the dangers of the Junior High and the ignorant superintendent, Dean West concluded with the statement that the results of the investigation would prove to all others how to conduct an investigation and would justify for all time to come the prominence of the classics.

We all came away from Madison with a feeling that we had been royally entertained by our hosts and hostesses of the University of Wisconsin, that we had listened to an unusually good series of papers, that Mr. Smiley Glad had been in evidence on all occasions and that Mr. Lugubrious Gloom seemed to have stayed away altogether. We were furthermore cheered by two announcements by our indefatigable Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Tanner, that our dismal deficit of last year has been paid off and that we have a net addition to our membership of over five hundred persons. We are a Going Concern!

AESCHYLUS, POET AND MORALIST

By THOMAS A. BECKER, S.J.
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In dramatic as in epic and lyric poetry the Greeks were not merely the pioneers who paved the way for later literature, but they achieved unsurpassed mastery in the art they created. And leaving out of our present discussion the question of drama's crude beginnings, we may say that the father of Greek tragedy was the soldier poet of Marathon. This distinction seems to belong to Aeschylus, whatever concessions we make to his supposed predecessor. Even though Thespis invented tragic drama ten or more years before the birth of Aeschylus, it was the subject of our sketch who fashioned it into a distinctive form of literary art and carried it to a perfection that his younger rivals did not essentially modify. The drama existed in embryonic form when Ionian epos and Dorian lay had been loosely joined together, but it was the poet of the *Agamemnon* who really gave birth to tragedy.

Aeschylus possessed in a supreme degree creative power, the lofty gift of poetic inspiration. His might and majesty, alike in thought and expression, warrant for him the name of genius. Symonds plausibly suggests that Aeschylus illustrates "the artistic psychology of Plato." With that philosopher the poet's power is a fine frenzy, a divine *μανία*. To say that poetry is *θεῖον καὶ μὴ τεχνικόν* is the exaggeration of a writer himself a poet, but an exaggeration that is in some sense justified. To fix the bounds and describe the functions of genius and art in poetry would lead us too far afield. But it may be said in passing that great poets are invariably artists, though the art be not always obtrusive, and while not necessarily self-conscious they are not therefore unconscious artists. The untamed energy of creative genius, the conceptions that exhaust the resources of language, are consistent with classic self-restraint. Sophocles and Tennyson suggest above all the conscientious craftsman. Aeschylus and Shakespeare rise

before us as men of massive mold who are rather impatient than ignorant of the laws of art, but who command at will a noble symmetry and a keen sense of artistic unity.

The genius of Aeschylus, as has been pointed out repeatedly, is most conspicuously shown in the vastness and grandeur of his creations. In the phrase of a noted critic, "he was the demiurge of ancient art." Abstractions, vague portraits of the Greek conscience, elemental beings, outlines faintly limned by the popular imagination are dowered by this Prometheus with definite form and substance. Justice and sin and ancestral curse loom gigantically before us as persons of his drama. Sun and earth and sky thrill with life. The brazen-footed Furies, with snaky locks and fiery breath, hunt their quarry on his stage. Ætna trembles responsive to the throes of Enceladus. Ghosts and denizens of an unseen world, all the unsubstantial pageantry of dreams fix the gaze and arrest the ear.

In the realm of human nature too his portrayal is titanic. The heroes that thunder at the seven gates of Thebes, the unrivaled figure of Clytemnestra, Persia and Hellas locked in the grim embrace of war's death-grapple, are colossal in the grandeur of their conception while they lose nothing of majesty or dignity in delineation. If we would find a kindred spirit to that of the Athenian mystic, we must go to the genius that gave us Coriolanus, Macbeth, and Lear.

Aeschylus is generally represented by critics as an hierophant, as the theologian of Greek tragedy. He is styled "a mythopoeist," or "pre-eminently a religious poet." This does not mean that he chose his subjects from religious myths to the exclusion of national legend. True, in the *Prometheus* the only human personage is Io, and in the *Choephore* and the *Eumenides* divine powers take an important part in the action. Besides there breathes in all the tragedies a spirit of divine intervention and over all there broods a suggestion of mysticism. But the poet like his compeers drew his material from the familiar legendary lore of Greece, the stories of Thebes, Argos, and Mycenae. One daring innovation, of which Phrynichus furnished a parallel, was the dramatization of contemporary history in the *Persae*. If Athenaeus is to be trusted,

the poet himself said that his plays were fragments from the banquet of Homer, that is, from the legends of the epic cycle. (Athen. viii. 347 E.)

Despite the narrow limits of a subject-matter prescribed by tradition, the Greek playwrights allowed themselves a fair amount of freedom in adapting legend to the purposes of dramatic art. We should probably find that Aeschylus did not feel himself constrained to follow the Hesiodic form of the Promethean myth, if the trilogy had survived to make a comparison possible. Again, the poet's political bias is displayed in the *Supplikes* and the *Oresteia*. The Pelasgic king of Argos shows a marked deference to popular opinion. So Athenian sentiment or tradition attributed a democratic tendency to the pre-historic monarchy as we may infer from Aristotle's reference to what he styles the "constitution of Theseus." (*Const. Ath.* 41. 2.) However, in the *Eumenides* the aristocratic leanings of the dramatist reveal themselves when he assigns a divine origin to the court of the Areopagus.

From the material we naturally pass to a consideration of the construction. At the outset we must remember the preference of Aeschylus for the trilogy. Readers of romantic drama are likely to be more in sympathy with the method of Sophocles and Euripides who complete a tragic action in a single play. But Aeschylus, whose creative faculty was massive in conception, chose rather a broad canvas; or, to illustrate from another art, his power is seen not in the deft and subtle artistry of delicate detail, but in shaping with his Titan's chisel huge mountain crags into forms of super-human grandeur. His architecture is cyclopean. His music is the simple, crashing symphonies of waking worlds, the diapason of heaven and earth. And yet the entire length of the Orestean trilogy is less than that of *Hamlet*, as Morshead has observed.

It should be noted further that the poet's preference for the trilogy means no abatement of his skill in the construction of single plays. In them we can discern an exposition or preparation for the tragic conflict, a growth of the action to a crisis, a descending movement to a catastrophe. Still it is only in the *Eumenides* that the action is fully closed, and it is noteworthy that in this play all is laid in peace and reconciliation as in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles

and in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*. The poet's aim should ever be borne in mind when studying the plan of construction of an Aeschylean tragedy. That the drama of Sophocles and Euripides is characterized by a more closely knit unity, by greater delicacy, and by a more finished elaboration of detail, proves not that Aeschylus was less skilled as an artist but that he followed a different method. And there are doubtless many readers to whom simplicity makes a stronger appeal than complexity, who derive a keener aesthetic pleasure from the bare, almost bald, outline of Aeschylean tragedy than from the drama of deftly woven intrigue.

The prologue, so common in Euripides, has more than once been stigmatized as a sorry makeshift. Aeschylus plunges at once into the action. Bradley has pointed out Shakespeare's method of beginning with a short scene full of life to engage the spectator's attention. Aeschylus adopts a style that is analogous if not strictly parallel. With the watchman in the *Agamemnon* we see the leaping beacon fires that herald the king's return. The Furies toss in restless sleep about their victim in the *Eumenides*. Hephaestus and his jailers rivet the Titan to his lonely crag in the *Prometheus*.

Before dismissing the subject of construction a word about the choral element may not be amiss. The *Suppliants* is of particular interest to the student of the development of Greek tragedy, for more than half the play is composed of lyric strains. Indeed we have here rather a cantata than a drama, and the dithyramb of Dionysus, which was the fore-runner of "lyrical tragedy" and of tragedy proper, retains an importance that disappears even in the plays of Aeschylus. But in his tragedy the chorus never is reduced to a mere musical interlude, it remains always an integral, if not an essential, part of the play and at times enters conspicuously into the action.

Aeschylus is a master not only of invention and construction, but of characterization as well. The impression may exist in some minds that the poet was incapable of painting human nature. Perhaps the reason is that critics have dwelt with undue insistence on his preference for gods and demigods, or for human heroes of colossal bulk whose lineaments are but dimly seen and whose

motives can be but vaguely scanned in the fitful glare of an inspiration that is rather lurid than illuminating. We may concede that Sophocles humanized myth and legend, nay, even the working of Nemesis, and that Euripides brought into Greek tragedy a reality of portraiture that has earned for him the distinction of being the prophet of romanticism. But Aeschylus, for all his grand manner, was a consummate artist in drawing character. The epic fulness of the action may withdraw our attention from the skill of his portraiture. His scheme of construction and surcharged religious thought led him, in the creation of character, to depict types rather than individuals. But Prometheus and Clytemnestra alone place Aeschylus by the side of the supreme master of characterization, Shakespeare.

If any complain that Agamemnon's murderess is rather a Fury than a woman, they only agree with Clytemnestra's own opinion of herself. She recalls Goneril and Regan and Lady Macbeth, though different from them all as they differ from one another. She has all the concentrated hate of Lear's heartless daughters, and her strength, unlike Lady Macbeth's, never snaps under the strain. In the *Choephore* as in the *Agamemnon* her mind is keen and crafty, her will is strong to inflexibility. Yet her character is marked by a certain dignity. After wreaking vengeance on the slayer of her child with the fury of an enraged lioness, she does not stoop with Aegisthus to insult the fallen king nor does she bandy taunt and bluster with the Argive elders. She is haughty and terrible in her triumph, undaunted when the sword of Orestes is at the breast to which, as she reminds him, he once clung a suckling babe. Relentlessly vindictive she returns from the spirit world to goad the Furies who are her avengers.

Our poet's creative power in plot and construction displays the range and vigor of his imagination. Vividness of imagination naturally reveals itself in language. The complaint is often made that the grandeur of Aeschylus frequently degenerates into bombast. Even his apologist, Aristophanes, cannot refrain from parodying his ponderous epithets that too often are marshaled in a serried phalanx. Shakespeare too, we are told, is unduly fond of making language do more than can be asked of it. Marlowe's

"mighty line" not infrequently has more of sound than sense. But, as with these poets, so with Aeschylus, faults of diction are the exaggeration of virtues. His incoherence is due to the sublimity of the thought with which his language, as yet an imperfect instrument, ineffectually struggles. Far different is the inarticulate utterance, the clumsy affectation of a solemn or rugged manner that masks a shallow or feeble mind.

To convince ourselves of this we have but to recall the descriptions of grand and savage scenery in the *Prometheus*, where nature mirrors the superhuman wills that meet in conflict. All the grimness, fury, and havoc of war are painted for us in the choruses of the *Agamemnon* and in the *Persae* with a vividness possible only to a warrior-poet. Strong, if quaint, is the imagination that gives us pictures such as "the beard of fire," that conceives a hurricane as "an evil shepherd," or a lion as "the Priest of Ruin," or with gruesome realism describes wave-tossed corpses gnawed by fishes as "torn by the mute children of the undefiled," or makes Clytemnestra say "'tis not for me to tread the hall of Fear."

Symonds says that Aeschylus "surpassed all the poets of his nation in a certain Shakespearean concentration of phrase," and the same critic finds a Shakespearean quality in the graphic power of his language and imagery. It is this perhaps that some term oriental. Energy, rapidity, intensity, splendor, sweep us breathless on till we forget the polished art of Sophocles or the easy grace of Euripides. And the pathos of his description of Iphigenia, the highly dramatic portrayal of Cassandra show a genius for expression closely akin to that of the creator of Desdemona and Ophelia.

In the brief space at our disposal we can say very little about Aeschylus as a moralist. At the outset it must be remembered that a dramatist is not to be held responsible for all the utterances of his *dramatis personae*. And so critics remind us of the impersonality and impartiality of Shakespeare. But even he is a moral, if not a moralizing, poet. He is not a pessimist, he has no room for the morbid and decadent. The tragic fact is portrayed relentlessly, but we are not left despairing of man's lot or of his nature. Aeschylus, however, seems to utter a religious and a moral message, and the chorus afforded him a vehicle for its expression. His aim, like

Milton's was to justify the ways of God to man. The burden of his teaching, as with great tragic poets generally, is that the doer must suffer *δρῶσαντι παθεῖν*. For a tragic catastrophe is a result of deeds that have their main and sufficient cause in human character. From this men may learn wisdom.

'Tis Zeus alone who shows the perfect way
Of knowledge; He hath ruled,
Men shall learn wisdom, by affliction schooled.

—Morshead

However much Aeschylus dwells on the resistless power of destiny, of decrees to which even Zeus is amenable, he is equally insistent on man's responsibility for his fate. There is no doom except for sin, a *ἁμαρτία* apparently to be understood in a strictly moral sense. The *ἄρνη* or infatuation which leads man to sin is rather the occasion than the cause of his fall. The will is not constrained to do evil, but once the deed is done, then the doom descends and inexorable fate pursues the evildoer. Though Prometheus was man's benefactor, he transgressed divine ordinances. Xerxes impiously sought to fetter the hallowed wave of Bosphorus. Eteocles is not the blameless victim of an ancestral curse, but by pride and selfishness fans anew the flame of the ancient Até of his house. Thus we find that it is a form of retribution that invariably follows the path of those who "kick against the pricks."

The dramatist distinctly disavows the popular doctrine that the divine *φθόνος* is a punishment of wealth or power, an idea that appears so frequently in the narrative of Herodotus. Despite the immemorial saying, the poet holds that it is *ὕβρις* not *εὐλος* that brings down the wrath of heaven, though prosperity is perilous because it engenders pride. "It is an ancient saying," declares Aeschylus, "that bliss waxing great dies not without issue, and from prosperity springs a bane insatiable. But I am of another mind. It is impiety that begets these numerous children stamped with the mark of their parentage" (*Agam.* 750 ff.).

It was Heraclitus, older than Aeschylus, who said that "character is destiny." Prosperity precedes but does not therefore cause a downfall, it is a necessary condition merely. The successive

generations that suffer the doom of their house are not themselves wholly innocent. The idea of retribution is not excluded, and guilt is personal nor is its punishment wholly vicarious. In the moral world human minds and wills sin against the moral order and must atone. So in the tragic world a causal sequence leads from character through deed to doom. As Morshead has suggested there is a close parallel between the teaching of Aeschylus and that of Ezechiel (chapter 18, especially vss. 3 and 20). "What is the meaning that you use among you this parable as a proverb in the land of Israel, saying: The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and teeth of the children are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord God, this parable shall be no more to you a proverb in Israel. . . . The soul that sinneth the same shall die." In comparison we may quote from Morshead's translation of the *Choephoroe* (630 ff.):

And the deed unlawfully done is not trodden down nor forgot,
When the sinner outsteppeth the law and heedeth the high God not.
And darkly devising, the Fiend of the house, world-cursed, will repay
The price of the blood of the slain that was shed in the bygone day.

And from the *Agamemnon* (1562 ff.):

While Time shall be, while Zeus in heaven is lord,
His law is fixed and stern;
On him that wrought shall vengeance be outpoured—
The tides of doom return.

παθεῖν τὸν ἐργαῖτα implies not a blind Nemesis but the operation of Justice, and none but the sinner is made to suffer. As Bradley says, in speaking of Shakespearean tragedy, a man like Job is not a tragic figure. To borrow Aristotle's term, he is *ἀνάξιος*.

Aeschylus of course, like Shakespeare, feels profoundly the mysteriousness of a power that is at once Fate and Justice, a power against which man is helpless. Ruin closes in on wealth and sway and splendid gifts. The mournful fact of waste and destruction that we know in the real world is portrayed by the tragic poet, though his vision cannot pierce the veil, *δύσμαχά ἐστι κρῖναι* (*Agam.* 1561). "Woe, woe is me, yet may the issue be fair" (*Agam.* 121) is not merely the poignant refrain of the Greek poet, it is the sad strain of humanity, a dirge that the hearts of men will echo throughout their years of exile and of pain.

"LATIN PROSE" AND MODERN LEARNING

BY ELEANOR S. DUCKETT
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Two things, surely, poles apart. We are told that of our young people only a small percentage ever reach College; and of these it is quite certain that only a small percentage, unless compelled, ever study "Latin Prose," by which they mean the writing of that famous tongue. The rest, with audible sighs of relief, thrust off that coil: submit, if necessary, to translating some Latin authors, but fly far from the writing of a Latin word.

Why should they not? For public opinion in this unclassic age is against it, and College opinion reflects public opinion in any College that is not pent within its cloister. "For we must know that, as we are now in an Age of great Philosophers and Men of Reason, so of great quickness and fancy! and that Greek and Latin, which heretofore (though never so impertinently fetched in) was counted admirable, because it had a learned twang; yet, now, such stuff, being out of fashion, is esteemed but very bad company!" So wrote John Eachard in 1670: and so write our educators of to-day. He who dares to think Horace good reading for our College students or the study of Vergil profitable to our seniors in school, must stand back to the wall and deliver his *Apologia pro doctrina sua*. What shall be said of him who dares to preach the gospel of Prose Composition? for so, as has been remarked, we still call it, though few—*citra Oceanum*—save Jesuit Fathers, try their hand at verse.

Now I am a College teacher, trained in the straitest classic discipline in vogue a decade of years ago across the sea. And far be it from me to desire to plunge my students into the throes of Latin hexameters or elegiacs, in which I struggled long and fiercely. I would as soon expect students of Shakespeare to produce—ad

unum omnes—sonnets that were sonnets. Nor should I expect training in the writing of Latin Prose to be given indiscriminately; any more than I should expect all my students in College to learn Greek for the sharpening of their intelligence. The training of the specialist is entirely another matter. One of the reasons why so many students dislike Latin is, I believe, that so many teachers of its lower stages do not really know either the literature or the language of Rome. The opportunity is not lacking. In England the best teachers of Latin in schools have taken either Honour Moderations at Oxford, or the First Part, at least, of the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, or an Honours degree at a modern University. So, too, in American Colleges we offer the intensive work of the "major"; we are viewing with great interest a movement toward still greater specialization; we supplement our more elementary instruction by the opportunities of the graduate schools of study in the grammar of research. Yet in spite of these open doors, in these days of hurry and eagerness to rush from goal to goal, our teachers-to-be have often neither time nor patience to equip themselves; and in nothing is this more disastrous than in Latin, which cannot be "crammed up" in a month or a year or two or three. Do we not know the College student who has read no Latin since the Freshman year, and comes on the eve of graduating to ask a recommendation for teaching Latin "because the school is asking it"? The young rush in where the older teachers fear to tread. This is especially true of Latin writing; for of all parts of the study of the classics, nothing is more vital for the future teacher, nothing is also of slower growth, than the knowledge of the internal structure of the language gained by writing its actual words. Not merely for the sake of the "composing"; but for the sake of that intimate knowledge which alone can make the reading of Latin or Greek the pleasure it can, and should be, to any teacher worth his salt.

Another reason is to be found in the antiquated methods of teaching. Sufficient abuse has been heaped, I know, upon the unhappy Grammarian; *absint inani funere neniae*. But, by all means, let us adapt ourselves to modern methods; and, if in teaching of Latin generally, why not in that direst of all its *Dirae*,

Latin "Prose"? How many of us labored conscientiously in school at "constructions"—one, perhaps, each week—faithfully mirrored in sentences the like of which was never seen on land or sea outside the classroom! I open one of the approved text-books, prepared for use in schools by excellent scholars; and I read *passim*: "Are you sorry or glad that your mother-in-law has hanged herself?"; "Let us see how potent the remedies are that are applied by philosophers to diseases of the mind"; "The greatest advantage of old age is that it does not long greatly for pleasure." The sentences are all "frankly translated or adapted from accepted Latin models"; but what about the wretched student compelled to dwell among them? And the intense virtue of these Latin Prose books! "Bradley-Arnold," a book known to classical students throughout the world, simply reeks with blatant piety. "It is vile to consider politics a source of gain"; "Is it possible for a true patriot to refuse to obey the law?"; "I have repeatedly warned your brother not to conceal anything from your excellent father"; etc., etc., *ad nauseam*. Could not some one find time and desire to frame a text-book of "Latin Prose" with as excellent instruction in scholarship as these manuals undoubtedly give, but somewhat more attractive to us moderns?

Again, the very names of these "constructions" are enough to scare the best intentioned pupil. Why "Indirect Discourse?" No one ever talks of "discourse" in ordinary language; why the eternal tag of "cum causal," "ut final" and so on? Why set one's students down in cold blood to master in one fell swoop that array of "conditional clauses"—logical, ideal, real, unreal, present, future, past? Could we not "compose" with them in sentences, and, as soon as possible, in simple passages, leading them to "constructions" by way of our story, rather than using the story for the mere sake of the construction? It seems to me it would be more cheerful to greet one's class in Composition with: "This morning we will translate the story of Iphigeneia, or of Beowulf, or of King Arthur," as the jam concealing the pills, rather than with the horrid pill exposed to open view: "Our lesson to-day is on the *Uses of the Dative*, and the exercise following thereon (Sentence 1: "I could not doubt that falsehood was most inconsistent with

your brother's character")." When I was "training" to teach in England I was warned not to compel my students to devour declensions wholesale, but to introduce "cases" deftly wrapped in sentences from the time of the earliest meetings of the class; this, I think, should be followed by the practice customary in our schools, of giving stories of a simple nature for translation. After this stage it does seem inevitable that we should train our students to read Latin through the perusal of military tactics: they must read the real thing. But is it necessary to treat them to this diet, varied with expostulations against Catiline, as their regular menu in Composition? I remember an undergraduate who was examined in my department here some three years ago for advanced standing; and her difficulty with the "vocabulary" of "*Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*." Why? There were oil-jars and robbers and slaves and public baths in Roman days. To set passages for translation into Latin which are evidently not edited or "selected" for this purpose, and not only to turn them into Latin words, but to imbue them with a Latin flavor, a very different thing, as we all know, is excellent for the guidance of our students and the proving that such things even in the twentieth century can be done. It certainly demands no small toil on the part of the teacher. But that is his business.

As to actual practice in modern teaching of "Prose" in school work I can only theorize; and indeed reform has already been instituted here. It is rather with the more advanced work that I am concerned at present. In this College where I am teaching we uphold Composition stoutly for those who wish to be specialists; we are trying to lead them on from "Elementary Prose" to "Intermediate" and "Advanced" work; that is, we offer three years' instruction, given in one meeting a week, and consider this proper training for our future teachers of Latin in schools. And here, I think, we do manage to be somewhat up-to-date. Our neophytes this year have been endeavoring to translate from *In Occupied Belgium*, from the *Water Babies* and *Robinson Crusoe*, our intermediaries from the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *New York Times*, from Dickens and Agnes Repplier; our advanced students from the *Atlantic Monthly*, from "*If Winter Comes*," from Edith

Wharton or Calvin Coolidge. A catholic collection! If the teacher chooses wisely and is himself well read in the Latin classics, as his students should be under process of becoming, I do not see much danger of any "fancy Latin" undermining our instruction.

So much for the specialist. There is another question which was lately thrown as a challenge to me; what of those College students who do not mean to dive deeply into Latin? A certain knowledge of "Prose" has been exacted from them at the College portals; is there any fruit for these people in elementary College work? I hope I am not inexcusably partial; but I do believe we have whereof even they may receive with profit. And these are my reasons.

This fall I met a class of seventeen, drawn from different College years, prepared to study Elementary College "Prose." That means, they vaguely expected to continue to "base" their writings, if not on the manoeuvres of Caesar and the fulminations of Cicero, then perhaps on battles of Livy, and exhortations on Friendship. These a priori conclusions received a jolt when they were bidden: "Take your pens and write in Latin these three sentences":

1. I have lately taken a course in First Aid.
2. I am majoring in English.
3. The Freshman Frolic was held three days ago.

Consternation. The productions showed, of course, that the majority did not know how to get at the root of a sentence, to divest an idea of its idiomatic dress and probe it to the heart. Instead of telling me in simple Latin words that they had been learning to take care of wounded or sick folk till the doctor could arrive, or that newly enrolled students had been making merry with their older companions, Americo-Latin barbarisms met me, as I knew they would. A "Freshman" was a "novus homo": the implication is scarcely flattering; a course in English was a *cursus Britannicus*. This does not by any means imply that these students knew little Latin or could not translate from Latin into English; they simply thought of "composition in Latin" as an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. We try, therefore, to teach our Latin Prosaics to grasp the naked meaning of their English; and this

lesson, I submit, can be taught far more thoroughly in Latin than in modern language classes. Many English metaphors may be transposed bodily into another modern tongue, or replaced by a corresponding figure of speech. But the Latin language, as ancient, largely excludes modern metaphor, and as the property of a people intensely matter-of-fact, is not partial to metaphorical expression at all. It is this characteristic, the desire for concrete expression, which made the Latin writers—other than the philosophers—delight in verbs rather than in nouns. Nouns may be used to cover a multitude of vague ideas. What, for instance, do we really say in English when we relate: "A string of circumstantial evidence pointed in the same direction"; or "Though for me . . . no hospitable roof threw open its doors"? There is, of course, a very real and large place for metaphors in English; but many—I am speaking of prose, not poetry—would be the better for a little pruning. He therefore who endeavors to write in Latin of necessity learns to express himself succinctly: the temptation to write words, mere words, falls away, and a virile composition, instinct with meaning in its every part, is the result of a successful "prose."

Secondly, we agree, most of us, that it is desirable that we of modern days should study the life and character of the Roman people. As then he gains less insight into this who only looks at it through the necessarily distorting spectacles of translation, so he must gain more who studies intelligently the Roman *verba ipsissima*, and ways of combining these. It is a common-place that a nation's character, as a man's, is revealed in its language and its use thereof. Now the student who translates from Latin in class is absorbed in English; his mind is occupied in thinking out the English he is to offer, and he heeds the Latin only so far as he is obliged. The deeper his anxiety to translate well, the harder his study of English vocabulary. The student who has to write Latin must try to wrest his mind to a Latin angle; and hence he learns something of the spirit of the people whose words are on his pen. How much does an Anglo-Saxon who cannot write a tolerably decent letter in French or Spanish really understand of the character of the French or Spanish nation? And so, when a

Latinist translates from the story of Scrooge or Robinson Crusoe, he must not only put together Latin words for English ones, but endeavor to soak his story in a Latin atmosphere; he must replace English-born metaphors and picture-words by those of Roman life. There lies, I suppose, and must lie, the difference between "Latin Prose" as it may be taught in school and in college. The College teacher tries to make of it something artistic; his students appreciate the higher stage.

For, thirdly, we, as artists, try to build up our Prose. Just as in playing golf, the anxiety lies greatly in the choice of club for each drive, or approach or putt, so in writing Latin, the scholar must consider which of his collection of "constructions" he shall employ to build up his narrative in "period" or short sentence. Hardly any language, I imagine, shows the same degree of psychological development of thought as Latin in its carefully constructed sentences. While the story develops from point to point clause after clause gradually reveals it to the reader, till finally with the "main verb" there breaks upon his understanding the climax of each stage of its progress. His interest therefore is kept suspended throughout. Quick action, on the other hand, is pictured by the short abrupt sentence, by historic infinitives, by asyndeton. There is no possibility, naturally, of reproducing all this artificial composition in our modern prose; but the principle underlying it might well be borne in mind even in details of English writings. Latin Prose, moreover, has the power of heightening the value of its words by their mere position in the sentence; the Latinist considers how he may place his significant words in the best light. Juxtaposition of picture-words enhances the effect of each; cacophony is avoided at all costs, for the Romans were notoriously sensitive to the sound of words; a rhythm runs through the prose, but rhyme and all semblance of verse effect are carefully eschewed. Cannot the disciple of English Prose find help in studying these rigid laws of expression?

Lastly, the writer of Latin is forced to study in a special way the meaning of the words he uses. So does the translator; but with scarcely the same degree of meditation! The process is both easy and difficult. For in Latin the meaning of every word is

fixed, and does not vary in varying quarters as that of modern words often does. But this crystallized meaning shows stages of progress in its life-history; and I triumph over my student who only reads half the paragraph allotted to each word even in the woefully imperfect dictionaries! And the force of modern derivatives from Latin differs notoriously from that of their originals; we who read Latin all know that nothing can be taken for granted on the score of similarity of form. And then, words of special zest must be dropped into one's Latin concoction to give spice to the whole; an occasional *scilicet* or *videlicet* or *quid?* or *quidem*. What would Demosthenes be without his "O Earth and Gods!"

If, then, Latin Prose be taught in College (based *scilicet* on knowledge gained by elementary work at school) as an artistic production, to be developed according to the artistic powers and the individual predilections of each artist in words, may we not think we have something to offer to the student of Liberal Arts though he never means to be a Latin classicist?

WHEN LATIN EARS ARE DEAF¹

BY BESSIE M. CAMBURN
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The subject which has been assigned to me has served to remind me anew of the truth of Hamlet's

Let Hercules himself do what he may
The cat will mew and dog will have his day.

Full many a time and oft in the early years of my teaching experience, my colleagues of the Latin department gently insinuated that I was of the number of those who having ears hear not for I had failed to teach certain essentials to the correct use of English in the shape of verb paradigms, and the uses of the objective case. And now I am bidden by one of your number to speak on a subject, the very phrasing of which invites to an enumeration of the sins, negligences and ignorances of teachers of Latin. The invitation to criticism is one which I shall not accept. If there has been lack of correlation between the work of the two departments, if ability in Latin has not carried over into the realm of English, I believe that the difficulty is due more to the fact that English teachers have not appealed for specific help, than to the deafness of Latin ears.

I hold a brief this evening for the study of Latin and if I should say anything which could be interpreted as denying its value as an aid to the mastery of the vernacular, I beg that you will regard me as an unwilling witness. Though I speak with the tongue of a barbarian, I have chiefly loved the company of those who have drunk deep at the ancient springs. There and there only, I am convinced are the copious fountains of good taste in the use of the mother tongue and of ability to interpret, with accurate nicety, the expressed thought of others.

It would be easy, indeed, to cite the mastery of English exhibited by some modern classicists, Professor Shorey, for example,

¹ Written for the Michigan School Masters' Club.

the rare flower of whose style with its perfection of symmetry and rhythm, has been nourished, one cannot doubt, in the rich loam of the past. But I am to speak to you of the ninth grader who has gnawed for five tedious months upon the Latin file. What can the weary teacher of English composition find in his work which is not to be found in that of his friends who have taken the broad and easy path which leads to the typewriter, the dictaphone and the adding machine? Does English come via Latin? I am to speak to you, too of the high school Junior or Senior who has completed the two years of Latin which are required by the college which he hopes to enter. The two years are, in most cases, all that he has and all that he ever will have. Have these two years rendered indirect service to his English?

It was with these questions in mind that I undertook a little investigation of the work of these two classes of students in Mount Clemens High School, the ninth grader who had completed one semester of Latin being compared in certain particulars with his fellows who had not elected the subject. In the same way, the work of pupils in the last two years who had passed two years of Latin or more was compared with that of those who had never learned to conjugate *amo* or who had been signally unsuccessful in their attempt. The latter group never included any one who had been in a Latin class longer than a semester.

I prepared first a list of twenty words which boys and girls misspell frequently, and which I am able to spell correctly only because I call to mind the Latin words from which they are derived. There were no words in the list which the ordinary individual might not want to use at some time in the course of his life. Some of those included were separate, familiar, Mediterranean, optimist, perspiration. In checking the lists, only errors were counted which knowledge of the Latin root would assist one to avoid. For example, failure to double the *r* in *referring* was not counted, as only a rule in English spelling is involved; but a student of Latin should recognize the fact that in the *re fero* combination, there would be no place for a doubled *f*. I expected that in both groups examined, the Latin students would greatly excel, both because knowledge of the language would give them

the advantage and because I supposed them to be better to begin with. In the ninth grade, eighteen Latin pupils averaged 62.2% and forty-eight boys and girls who had not even experimented with the subject, averaged 64.5%, very little difference though the little there is, is in favor of the non-Latin group. I give the results which I obtained in grades eleven and twelve with great diffidence for I do not know how they are to be explained. Twenty-five pupils who have passed two or more years of Latin averaged 77.4% while nineteen pupils who have either not taken the subject or have failed dismally in it, averaged 81.8%. I made what might be called a weighted spelling list by listing the misspellings of the Latin group. Conscientious was the banner word. Thirteen out of twenty-five pupils who had passed two years of Latin failed in the *scient* combination. Perspiration was missed by ten, apparatus, by ten, auxiliary, similar and laboratory each by eight, etc.

I felt that I must believe that either the commercial department was teaching spelling very well or that the Latin student had not realized that his language training might do him yeoman's service in so practical a matter as the spelling of English words. The influence of the English department was an entirely negligible one for like the sun, it shines alike upon the just and the unjust. It may be urged that this is a mean and lowly service to expect from the study of Latin, that Minerva was not wont to be a handmaid either of gods or of men, that the teacher of Latin is aiming at higher things, such as literary appreciation, knowledge of the relation of the ancients to us, power of expression, etc. There are, however, other considerations involved in this spelling test than the purely mechanical ones which are evident. The pupil who spells conscientious, *conshenshus* or perspiration, *prespiration* has failed to grasp the real inner meaning of the word, what Thoreau calls the soul of the word, and is unable to use it with discriminating conscientiousness.

It is here that I suspect that teachers of English have left undone what we ought to have done. Is it a matter of common knowledge among Latin teachers that many high school boys and girls suppose that *description* is *discription* and that the abbrevia-

tion for et cetera is ect? When we send out this S. O. S. call to the Latin department for help in spelling, we shall need to specify the particular cases in which a remedy is needed. Latin as a general tonic, taken internally with a pious hope for general good results will never be efficacious. A list of words compiled by teachers of English from actual misspellings of pupils and turned over to teachers of Latin with a humble request for assistance would undoubtedly bring about results. Such coöperation would be to our mutual benefit, the correct English spelling strengthening the Latin and vice versa. A list of Latin derivatives which children really need to use and which they really misspell would contain probably not more than fifty words but the yearly number of misspellings of these words by high school pupils would be innumerable. I suppose we have been remiss about sending out this call for specific help because we have only lately come ourselves to realize that the range of pupils' misspellings is much smaller than we had thought.

The next phase of our investigation was merely a repetition of the work done by Professor Starch as set forth in *The School Review*, Vol. 23. The method of procedure might be explained briefly. Three tests of what Professor Starch calls grammatical knowledge and one test of grammatical ability are given to a group of students. The first gives a cutting from "The Mill on the Floss" and pupils indicate the part of speech represented by each word. The second tests knowledge of cases by giving a piece of connected discourse and requiring the pupil to place above each noun and pronoun the abbreviation for its case. By a similar method knowledge of mode and tense is tested. In these three tests of grammatical knowledge, we obtained about the results which Professor Starch says are to be expected. The scores made by the Latin students showed conclusively that that study had materially increased their knowledge of these three phases of English grammar. Statistics are odious to every one except to their compiler to whom they are fascinating so I refrain from giving the full results. In the case of both groups of students, our figures seemed to show that the non-Latin student knew something of the parts of speech but cases, modes and tenses were to him an undiscovered

country. In the 9th grade, the Latin students indicated on the average of 28.4 parts of speech in three minutes and the non-Latin 21.4, not a very great difference. In the tests involving knowledge of tenses and cases, the difference was much greater. In the 9th grade groups the Latin students designated correctly 13.6 cases of nouns and pronouns to 8.3 scored by non-Latin pupils and 15.6 in the modes and tense test to 8.2, in each case being about 1.7 times as successful. The proportionate degree of success was about the same in the two groups of third and fourth year students.

We then used Starch's test of grammatical ability which consists of about forty sentences in each of which a choice of two forms is given, the pupil to cross out the one which he believes to be incorrect or bad. This test is arranged as a scale composed of a series of increasing steps of equal differences of difficulty. The results obtained in Mount Clemens high school were little short of astounding. The Latin 9th graders who had shown in two important phases of grammatical knowledge a performance 1.7 times as successful as those who had had no Latin made an average score of 8.3 steps passes on the Starch scale of ability to use the English language. The first year students who had not studied Latin and who were very deficient in knowledge of case, tense and mode, made an average score of 9.3 on the same scale. The third and fourth year pupils who had completed two years of Latin scored 10 while those who had had no Latin averaged only 9.5, the very small difference being in favor of the Latin group.

Professor Starch's conclusions based on results such as these are that the study of foreign languages only very slightly increases the pupils' ability to use English correctly and that the correct use of English is largely a matter of habit and of example rather than of knowledge. If this be true, then are we as teachers of English of all men most miserable. If there is no body of knowledge which can be taught to furnish fixed criteria by which the pupil can measure his use of language, we are without hope in the world. No teacher of English can hope by means of the most ingenious devices in the shape of language games or what not, in forty-five minutes of time by precept or example to counteract the

habits of the other waking hours of the twenty-four when the pupil lives, moves and has his being, in a world of linguistic anarchy and license where *I done it*, *I laid down* and *between you and I* are recognized as good form. There is very little incentive for effort on our part for those pupils who hear good English spoken outside of the school will speak well, while for the other unfortunates there is only outer darkness.

Some of us, however, feel impelled to seek for more light because we know that certain grammatical principles have been a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our path. We know that we have deliberately discarded the forms which were current in that state of life unto which it pleased God to call us, because we knew that they were grammatically incorrect.

Why is it that the high school pupil makes no apparent use of his grammatical knowledge gained from his study of Latin while some of us here know that we are constantly testing our written and spoken words by grammatical standards? Our ability to make such use of grammatical principles has its basis in a long linguistic experience during which we have learned to select useful generalizations which are applicable to difficult language situations in English. If the high school pupil's two years of Latin are to serve as a touchstone by which he can test his use of the vernacular, we shall need to specify the cases in which it will give him unfailing help. In other words, the situation in grammar is much like that in spelling. Classifications of actual errors made in the pupils' speaking and writing are needed in order that the Latin teacher may know of the particular difficulties for which a remedy is desired. For example, the pupil with even two years of Latin has learned that it is a law as unalterable as that of the Medes and Persians that the subject and predicate must agree in number. From his limited linguistic experience it is doubtful whether he will see that that generalization bears any relation to such an English situation as "A different set of knives and forks was or were put on the table." At any rate from the results of the Starch test, we learned that many of them failed to make any such connection. Latin, as a general tonic, a sort of spring medicine, good generally for one's English failed again in

this particular. Specific application for specific ailments might be marvellously efficacious. In other words, coöperation between the two departments is needed. Again I insist that it is not so much the deafness of Latin ears as that we, the physicians, to whom is entrusted the healing of all language ailments, have made hazy diagnoses, and have not known exactly what aid we needed from the consulting specialists.

Such a program of coöperation would be greatly aided if certain sections of English classes were made up entirely of Latin students. The English teacher could then make full use of the grammatical knowledge which she knew was in the possession of all the class and she could constantly reinforce the drill upon the applications which had been previously given in the Latin classroom. The problem is so to concentrate in both classrooms the drill upon English forms which are related to Latin usages that we may crowd into the two years of required Latin the ability to apply grammatical principles which has come to many of us through a long and broad linguistic experience. This, I believe to be possible and practicable; for the range of pupils' grammatical errors has been shown to be comparatively small, and half a dozen such principles drilled upon, in season and out of season, in both classrooms would eliminate a large percentage of errors, at least in written work.

The last set of test material was used only in the ninth grade. It consisted of the English vocabulary test devised by Mr. W. L. Carr, formerly of the University of Chicago High School, and described in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* of October, 1919. The test consists of fifty complete sentences each of which contains an under-scored word of Latin origin which the average pupil might reasonably be expected to meet in his general reading. In writing the test the pupils were asked to explain briefly the meaning of the under-scored word. The results obtained showed that our Latin students knew how to use intelligently their Latin vocabularies in deriving the meanings of English words. The pupil who had passed one semester of Latin defined correctly an average of eighteen words while the non-Latin pupils scored only ten.

It is significant to note that there has been here a rather high degree of coöperation between the work of the two classrooms.

In the Latin classroom, faithful and effective drill has been given in the technique of derivation. On the English side, we use the Hitchcock text which contains one long chapter on word building providing an endless amount of drill in the meaning and use of Latin prefixes which the pupil is required to affix to many common Latin roots the meanings of which are given. He is then stimulated to look for the original meaning of the Latin root in the English word which he has so formed. From these results, it would seem almost safe to generalize far enough to say that in the one phase of Latin teaching in our high school where the instruction as to the application of the knowledge acquired to English situations has been of a specific character, specific and measurable results have been obtained.

Now let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. To the end that the pupil may know how to make use of his Latin in order to solve difficult language problems in English, specific instruction must be given in the Latin classroom in the application of general linguistic principles with drill upon illustrative English sentences. Certain English sections might well be composed of Latin students alone. In these classes, procedure could be based upon the positive assurance of the possession of grammatical knowledge on the part of all the pupils.

In the same way, the technique of derivation should be applied to the spelling of a short list of English words in which the spelling difficulty may be eliminated by knowledge of the spelling of the Latin root. Latin can best render first aid to English if it is applied, not as a panacea but as a specific remedy intended for certain specific ailments from which the patient is known to be suffering. Its efficacy will, in that case, largely depend upon the thoroughness with which it is applied.

The philosophy of the mineral bath attendant in Mount Clemens seems to me to fit the case rather well. She is interested only in one's most swollen joints and as she concentrates upon these, manipulating each with skilled but none too tender fingers, she has but one answer to give to the feebly demurring patient: "Jest the water won't do you no good. It's in the rubbing."

HANNIBAL'S PASS OVER THE ALPS

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I

Most classical scholars, I suppose, would be of the opinion that the only justification for an article at this day on the vexed and much debated question concerning the pass by which Hannibal crossed the Alps on his memorable march from Spain to Italy, 218 B. C., would be the discovery of new evidence not accessible to previous writers on this subject. I can not plead such an excuse. This paper had its origin in the recent reading of the third book of Polybius.¹ It is not a learned article. It takes no account of the literature on the subject. It will be confined to a critical examination of the only two extant authorities on Hannibal's expedition, Livy and Polybius. My purpose is to show, first, that Livy is an incompetent witness and should be utterly rejected; second, that Polybius is trustworthy and consistent and that according to his narrative Hannibal's route was up the Isère river and over the Little St. Bernard pass into the valley of the Po near the modern Aosta.

Like most Latin students, I was brought up on the traditional diversity of opinion on this question, on the inextricable tangle of Livy's narrative and on the hopeless confusion displayed in the notes of the would-be elucidators of that author's text. It seemed to be generally conceded that the question was insoluble from the lack of data, and I had always accepted this view. It is certainly insoluble, and will ever remain so, to those who attempt to follow Livy or to those who waste time and ingenuity on the still more futile endeavor to reconcile Livy and Polybius. Livy is worthless as an authority on our subject, and the only reasonable thing to do is to discard him in toto. He wrote two hundred years after the events, was notoriously ignorant of

¹To avoid the imputation of tampering with the witness, I have uniformly used Shuckburgh's translation of Polybius. In the few cases of departure from this I have quoted the Greek. All references to Polybius are by chapters to the third book.

geography and topography, unappreciative of the value of the monuments and original documents. As a stylist and literary artist, he is unsurpassed. He aimed at rhetorical effect rather than accuracy of statement. "Livy's work must be judged by literary and not historical standards." I expect to show that his account is confused, contradictory, full of gaps, impossible to follow on any map. With these premises, I shall now proceed to a critical estimate of the narratives of Livy and Polybius, and first, of

LIVY'S ACCOUNT

Livy and Polybius agree in bringing Hannibal up the left bank of the Rhone to the so-called Island, formed by the junction of the Rhone and Isère (Isara) rivers. There can be no doubt that Livy had in mind the Mont Genève as Hannibal's pass, that is, if he had any definite pass in mind at all, because he brings him up the Durance (Druentia) river, and that route leads right up to the Mont Genève. It seems inconceivable that Hannibal would march up to the lowest (6083 ft.) and easiest of all the great Alpine passes west of the Brenner and then deliberately pass it by seeking troubles of his own making. In fact, the pass is too easy to furnish a tithe of the difficulties depicted by Livy. It is perfectly practicable in mid-winter, and the summit is occupied at the present time by a village inhabited all the year round.

The chief difficulty is to get an intelligible idea of how Livy moved Hannibal's army from the mouth of the Isère to the Durance river. He tells us (21,31,9) that Hannibal did not seek the Alps by the direct way, but turned to the left into the territory of the Tricastini, (*ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit*). Two difficulties here present themselves: first, how an army marching up the Rhone could turn to the left in seeking the Alps. All kinds of interpretations have been attempted, some of them of the most desperate character, as: "to the left of Livy sitting in his study," or "the left of an army in retreat, which would be equivalent to the ordinary right," or "the left bank of the Isère." The second difficulty is with the Tricastini. This tribe is known to have occupied the left bank of the Rhone south of the Isère. In other

words, Hannibal had already marched through them to reach the mouth of the Isère, and in order to "turn his journey" into their territory again he would need to turn neither to the left nor right, but to retrace his journey of the last day or two before reaching the Isère. This would involve a useless journey of several days and an irrational proceeding ill becoming a Hannibal. Once bring Hannibal to the Isère, the only reasonable thing to do is to march him up that river or up the Rhone. Surely he did not march his army up to the Island simply to settle the quarrel between the two brothers among the Allobroges, and then march it down again.

Livy in his ignorance of the topographical and physical features of the region was little aware of the difficulties involved in transferring an army from the mouth of the Isère to the valley of the river Durance, or the Mont Genève pass. Of the various passes connecting Italy and the Rhone valley there are only four west of the Simplon leading over a single ridge: the Mont Genève by way of the Durance, the Mont Cenis by the Arc and Isère, the Little St. Bernard by the Isère, and the Great St. Bernard leading directly to the Rhone at Martigny. All the other routes require the passage of secondary passes, in some cases higher than the main pass. The above remark, however, is true for the Mont Genève only for travelers bound for the southern portions of France or for Spain, as the Durance joins the Rhone not far from its mouth. All travelers bound for the upper reaches of the Rhone, as the Isère, would have to cross other passes, an important consideration, which always told against the Mont Genève route and caused it to be almost completely superseded in the Middle Ages by the Mont Cenis.

With an army now at the mouth of the Isère, let us see what is necessary in order to reach the Mont Genève. Livy, unlike Polybius, is quite free in his use of proper names, but for a clear appreciation of Hannibal's route they are often a hindrance rather than assistance, as we saw above in the case of the Tricastini. Yet the merest tyro in mountaineering knows that roads and trails in mountainous regions of necessity follow the water courses and cross from one river system to another by the most

available passes. The routes are made by nature; little choice is left to man.

Let us glance briefly at the possibilities open to Hannibal. *Route 1.* It would be possible (but 100 per cent improbable) for him to retrace his steps through the Tricastini to the river Drôme, which flows into the Rhone from the east some twenty miles below the Isère. Once arrived at the Drôme, his route would naturally coincide fairly well with Livy's. That author's fatal mistake is first in taking Hannibal past that river and then in his naïve ignorance of geography being under the necessity of bringing him back to it in order to get him on the route which he so vaguely describes. It should be remembered that Hannibal was not marching at random through the country, feeling his way towards the Alps. He was met at the crossing of the Rhone by friendly guides well acquainted with the country. It is inconceivable that these guides would not have led Hannibal up the Drôme in the first instance. Marching up the Drôme he would first come to the modern Aouste, identified with Augusta Tricastinorum; the next town would be Die, the Dea Vocontiorum. But in passing from the Drôme valley to that of the Durance, he must encounter the inevitable pass, in this case The Col de Cabre (3870 ft.). From this he would descend to the Buëch river, a tributary of the Durance, flowing south. There would be no need, however, of his following this river to its junction with the Durance, but after descending it for a short distance, he could go up the Little Buëch, thence across by Gap (Vapincum of the Tricorii), and strike the Durance proper a little below the modern Embrun (Ebrodunum).

It will thus be seen that this route, following the natural course of rivers and mountain passes, accords fairly well with Livy's as designated by proper names, for immediately after turning to the left into the Tricastini, he continues: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impedita via priusquam Druentiam flumen pervenit (21, 31). The "impedita via" has been correctly characterized as "a most unfitting description for the tangled country between the Isère and the Durance." Livy then, quite gratuitously, at any

rate at this difficult point, takes Hannibal across the Durance, notwithstanding that it is *Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu*. This crossing is described in Livy's best style, and at first we are inclined to think that the main purpose of the crossing is for the rhetorical display which it offers, but a few lines further on (32,6), we find the real reason. It is that he may continue his march thence to the Alps "*ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere*." It is needless to say that this "plain" country no longer exists in these parts, and it did not exist in Hannibal's time. It is exceedingly rough, wild, and desolate. All this country is called "*Hautes Alpes*" on maps of France. I suppose quite a plausible thesis might be written on the phrase "*ab Druentia*" to prove that Livy did not needlessly take Hannibal across the Durance and then by an "*iter campestre*" up that river to the Mont Genève, but that it was necessary for him to cross this river, as he was heading for one of the more southern passes, as the Col de l'Argentière.

Route 2. The second route possible from the mouth of the Isère is up that river to Grenoble, then up the Drac to its junction with the Gresse, then up the Gresse and over the Col de la Croix Haute (3825 ft.) to the headwaters of the Buëch, thence down that stream to its confluence with the Little Buëch, where we join route 1. This route is so uselessly circuitous that no commentators have supported it, or even mentioned it, so far as I know.

Route 3. This route is decidedly the most popular with the Livians. It coincides with the last route as far as the junction of the Gresse and Drac, then follows the Drac up past Corps and St. Bonnet, and crosses over to the Durance watershed by the Col Bayard (4085 ft.) to Gap, where it comes also in touch with route 1. This third route is just as unreasonable as the second, and just as round-about, but in order to preserve a semblance of the Livian tradition one of them is necessary, unless you make Hannibal retrace his march from the mouth of the Isère to the Drôme, an act of too great hardihood for the boldest Livian. Still, they commit even a greater blunder; for think of taking Hannibal up the Drac to Gap, and at the same time including Aouste and Die in his itinerary! These last two places are on the Drôme,

a tributary of the Rhone as we have seen above, an entirely different watershed and absolutely incompatible with the Drac route. The only way to reach these places from Gap would be to reverse route 1, over the Col de Cabre, down the Drôme, then retrace the same route to Gap. Somewhat irrational!

Route 4. Another route remains to be mentioned. This coincides with the last two as far as the junction of the Drac and Romanche near Grenoble, then follows up the Romanche and over the Col du Lautaret (6808 ft.), thence down to Briançon, on the Durance, at the foot of the Mont Genèvre pass. This is by far the most direct route from the mouth of the Isère to the Mont Genèvre, but it implies a complete abandonment of Livy's route. The height of the Col du Lautaret, nearly 800 ft. higher than the Mont Genèvre, would doubtless have proved a great drawback to it in ancient times, though it is now crossed every day in the year by stage, and the hotel on the summit is open all the winter.

These are the four routes, and the only four, possible to an army at the mouth of the Isère and bound for the Mont Genèvre. Other routes are suitable only for the more or less practised mountaineer, not for an army. They all four involve the difficulty of crossing the Alps by more than one pass, while Polybius and Livy, the latter of value only as embodying the common tradition, agree on one pass.

Another a priori argument of some weight against the Livian route may be based on the fertility and productiveness of the Isère valley as compared with the barrenness and sterility of the country lying between the Isère and the Durance. Draw a line east and west following the Drôme river, and you will find marked climatic and physical contrasts north and south of this line. The north is a land of copious rains well distributed throughout the year. This makes it a flourishing agricultural and grazing section—a cow country; while to the south Mediterranean conditions prevail, long droughts winter and summer, torrential, but very irregular, rains. It is a sheep country. "In the south the struggle for life is harder. The disseminated vegetation is meager." The geological formation of the two sections also differs widely. "These differences of climate and structure are reflected in all other geographical phenomena. While the relief

of the northern section is simple, harmonious, and already in an advanced stage, that of the south is irregular and disordered. The highest summits of the southern section fall far short of those of the north, yet the mean elevation is not greatly inferior, and *penetration is far less easy. The length and difficulty of routes across the chaotic mountains restrict traffic, which on the contrary circulates freely along the ample valleys of the north.* (Italics mine.) The sum total of influences is reflected in the population densities—19 people per square kilometer in the south, 55 per square kilometer (including the large towns) in the north.” These quotations are from a highly instructive article on the climatic and physical aspects of the French Alps in the *Geographical Review*, January 1921. The “*campestris*,” so inappropriately applied by Livy to the valley of the Durance, is not inapplicable to that of the Isère.

Is it reasonable to believe, I ask, that Hannibal, who had carefully planned this expedition even while yet in Spain, the most prudent and sagacious of commanders, would have chosen this rough, difficult, poverty-stricken southern route rather than the easy, fertile northern one? Can we believe that Hannibal after marching up the Isère as far as Grenoble and after actual experience of its broad and open valley abounding in means of subsistence, would have deliberately abandoned it for the hard conditions of the south, with starvation almost certainly staring his army in the face? Does not the northern route correspond more nearly with the speeches of the friendly guides who met Hannibal at the crossing of the Rhone and who declared that they had come to lead the army by an easy way abounding in provisions? (Polyb. 3, 44.) It seems to me that these *a priori* considerations, in the absence of incontrovertible evidence to the contrary, are almost enough to be decisive of the whole question. Consider how Aristotle’s “man of ordinary prudence” would act when confronted by such circumstances, and then compare him with a Hannibal.

I must now deal as briefly as possible with the famous chapter 38 of book 21. Livy tells us here that Hannibal in his descent from the Alps into Italy came first among the Taurini, and that since this is the one point upon which all agree, he wonders why there is any doubt about where he crossed the Alps. In the first

place, Livy is wrong here on his facts, for Polybius says that he came first among the Insubres. This glaring disagreement of statement has led some critics to believe that Livy never read this portion of Polybius. Again in the very next sentence Livy contradicts his own statement about the agreement of all on the Taurini, for he tells us that it was commonly believed that Hannibal crossed by the Poenine, and that Coelius says that he crossed *per Cremonis jugum: qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent*. I am aware that Salassos is an emendation, but we need not discuss this, for it is very evident that Livy had in mind that these passes debouched into the valley of Aosta, and for that reason not into the country of the Taurini. There seems to be no doubt that the Poenine refers to the Great St. Bernard; and in this case the Cremonis jugum, not elsewhere mentioned, must be the Little St. Bernard, as these are the only two passes in this region practicable for an army. Some have fancied that the name Cremonis has been preserved in the Cramont, a peak of moderate height which stands beside the Little Bernard pass.

Livy goes on to say next: *nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quae ad Poeninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus Semigermanis fuissent*. I give this merely as a specimen of inane criticism, for what reason could there be for thinking that the semi-Germani would have been any more able to block Hannibal's passage than the Gauls who so stoutly resisted him on the pass which he actually did cross, wherever that may have been?

Here I rest my case against Livy. I confess that I am unable to form any definite idea of the route by which he moved Hannibal's army from the mouth of the Isère to the territory of the Taurini. The crux of the whole question seems to lie in the incompatibility of taking Hannibal up the Isère and Drac, and yet through places named by Livy, but lying on the Drôme below the mouth of the Isère; on a different watershed from the Drac and entirely off that route. I am afraid some editors are as little aware of this difficulty as Livy. In the next number of the JOURNAL I shall take up Polybius and the more amiable task of constructive criticism.

THE ANCIENT CURSE: SOME ANALOGIES

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The art of clothing one's self with cursing as with his garment is no invention of the modern world; neither does it take its origin from the Golden Age of the Chosen People. It is necessary to hark still farther back in the annals of the human race, until we have passed far beyond the boundary-line which marks the beginning of written history. Even in that dim and shadowy region of the prehistoric, we are unable to lay our finger on what we may term the imprecatory source. In one way or another, traces of the Curse have been followed by students of folk-lore and primitive religion through the Bronze Age of mankind back to the Neolithic Period; and the *terminus a quo* is not yet! Later, the art flourished in historical times in the civilizations of the Near East; it was cultivated by the Babylonians and the Assyrians; it was native to, or adopted by, the ancient Greeks; and it lost nothing in the mouths of the vindictive Romans. In Mediæval times, moreover, we have the formidable abbot, equipped with bell, book and candle, and prepared to hurl forth, Zeus-like, his scorching anathemas. Is it too much to suppose that the principle of cursing is inherent in the human heart?

It is interesting to observe the attitude of the writers of the Old Testament towards imprecation. For men endowed with keen and delicate spiritual perceptions, they are to us strangely lacking in anything like a disposition towards apology when in its presence. The patriarch Job curses the day of his birth with an almost inspired fervour, and wins no rebuke from his otherwise censorious friends. King David, the man after Jehovah's own heart, devotes his political opponents to misery unutterable, and his cries for vengeance—clothed as they are in the garb of poetry—

become a part of the Hebrew ritual. The servant of the Lord, Elisha, moved to anger by personal ridicule, utters his voice, and brings death or mutilation, we are told, on upwards of two-score little children!¹ To be condemned for his action by the author of the Book of Kings? Far from it: the inspired writer passes the episode over, as it were with the tacit acknowledgment that the youngsters have met with their just deserts.

The calling-forth of the she-bears and the resultant destruction of the children from the curse of the prophet mark a definite and distinctive feature of the ancient Curse as contrasted with the modern. The Curse of the present is—if a pun may be forgiven—essentially *cursory*. That is to say, it constitutes the irrational and incidental outpouring of a more or less uncultivated mind, under the stress of anger or irritation. In other words, it is a thing purely subjective. The Curse is an expression of personal feeling, and, however it may be worded, it is not intended or expected to be efficacious. The private soldier who damns his sergeant has little hope that the mere utterances of his lips will have the power of plunging his superior into eternal woe. The Curse relieves the private's feelings—nothing more.

But the ancient Curse was an infinitely more potent thing, and it is quite clear that confidence in this feature of potency had not altogether died out by the Middle Ages. The formal imprecation of the monk—attended by the paraphernalia of bell, book and candle—was manifestly considered in the light of a definite process, having a definite purpose in view. This purpose, moreover, was nothing more or less than the actual discomfiture of an individual, either in this world or in the world to come. Indeed, the thing is not entirely a dead-letter in the modern world. Even in the Greece of today, according to Mr. J. C. Lawson,² there still survives in certain strata of society a belief in the Curse—the Curse that is a serious thing, fraught with dangerous possibilities for the victim against whom it is directed. The tree that has struck its roots into the soil during the Stone Age is hard indeed to pull up!

¹ II Kings, 2, 23, 24.

² Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion.

In view of this we are better able to understand the matter-of-fact attitude of the Hebrew writer towards the—to us—extraordinary exploit of Elisha. To him it was altogether in the law of nature that the imprecation delivered by one so great as the prophet should have immediate and serious effect. He had marvelled, indeed, if the Curse had proved futile. Something similar, too, is to be observed in the prophet's treatment of the covetous Gehazi.¹ He pronounces against him what is virtually a curse, and the sinner goes out from his presence a leper as white as snow. It is significant that, in these and similar incidents, Jehovah is not cited as giving a command. The Curser acts on his own responsibility; the Curse, *per se*, is enough. When David in his majesty cried: "So let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones," there can be little doubt but he had in mind actual water and oil, actual bowels and bones. When the injunction came to curse the laggard Meroz and her inhabitants, the intent was that a full measure of real woe should thereby be poured out without mixture on the delinquents.²

But it would be manifestly impossible to present anything like a complete picture of the history of malediction. Much of the course is obscure, and may be followed by experts alone. In the prehistoric times, *e.g.*, we have to be guided by certain analogies recurrent in later ages, and by certain apparently magical dispositions of fetish-like forms discovered among the artifacts of various Neolithic peoples. The pathway of the Curse is at best dimly lighted until we arrive at the point where the lamp of Greek civilization begins to burn brightly in the eastern Mediterranean. But although the presence of the formal and efficacious Curse is to be descried here and there in the various departments of Greek literature—in the Drama particularly—it is to the humble inscription that we must look for a full and complete exposition of the "Ara"; to the inscription, moreover, which is not the work of the professional stone-cutter, but is the laboured product of the engraving-tool of the amateur. The inference is plain; to the

¹ II Kings, 5, 20 *sqq.*

² Most striking, too, is the episode of Balaam, the son of Beor, who had to be forcibly restrained by the angel of the Lord from cursing the Israelites (Numbers, 22).

educated Greek of historical times the practice has become little more than a foolish superstition. The formal Curse becomes the weapon of the lower intellectual strata of society, and with them it remains. A similar magical rite, according to Mr. Lawson,¹ is still practiced among the less enlightened of the Greek peasantry.

The Ara is replete with specific curses. The author "fastens down," to translate literally, not only the person of his (or her) enemy, but not infrequently his relatives as well. He lays his spell upon every member, every limb. He names with extraordinary care every organ of the body, as far as they are known to him, and fairly exhausts the Anatomical Nomenclature of the times. As a rule the list is brought to a close with a curse on the "Psyche"—the soul of the unfortunate victim. "I hate them with a perfect hatred," might well be said of the whole process. It is astonishing to observe the infinite patience of the originator of the Curse as he toils with his rude engraving-tool over the tablet of lead or of bronze, or occasionally of even stone. His diligence bears witness alike to the degree of his animosity and of his faith. Given a fair field for the exercise of his rite, he cannot fail to make the curse effective. The wicked shall be cut off. "Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. . . . Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous." The words of the psalmist are curiously similar.

In the late Roman Republic and under the Emperors, the art of Cursing in Italy flourished in secret. The authorities were hostile, and strict penalties were imposed on all who were convicted of the offence. The reason for this bigotry on the part of the state is unknown, but it is possible that the Roman magistrates, who were always keen at smelling-out a *coniuratio*, were moved by the same impulses as in the year B.C. 186, when they were impelled to adopt such stern measures touching the Bacchanalian Orgies. Furthermore, although proper names are seldom to be seen, there can be no doubt but many of the authors of the *Tabellae Defixiones* or "Curse-Tablets" were of servile origin,

¹*Op. cit.*

and were, *ipso facto*, under suspicion. In general the Roman Curse was inscribed—in a rude cursive or semi-cursive style of writing—on the conventional leaden or bronze plate. The formula is essentially that of the Greek model with an occasional picturesque touch. Now and then some foreign word of supposed magical import is introduced irrelevantly; and in one noteworthy example we find an invocation of Jehovah and King Solomon in close association with a prayer for protection to an Italian deity. It is easy to infer the oriental extraction of the author. In another inscription—a Dalmatian tablet of the sixth century—it is curious to observe the grafting of the Christian spirit on the ancient pagan tree. The writer, a professed follower of the Lord, employs the traditional formula without deviation, but his Curse is directed, not at a brother-man, but at—an evil spirit.¹

The originator of the Curse must gain the assistance of the Dii Inferi, "The Powers of Darkness," to further his ends. Hence, to be brought into touch with their malignant influence, the tablet is deposited in some spot which is in direct communication with the Lower World. A tomb or a stream of water flowing into the ocean will suffice. Symbolism, furthermore, is thought to add to the potency. So the imprecatory tablet is often found to be pierced by a nail or pin; in like manner may the Curse pierce the soul of the foe! Of this, too, we hear an echo in the Old Testament. Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, the false prophet and deceitful adviser of Ahab, "made him horns of iron: and he said, Thus saith the Lord, with these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."² To render the Curse altogether efficacious it was necessary also to secure by stealth some cast-off or non-essential fragment of the earthly tabernacle of the victim—a nail-paring, *e.g.*, or a hair—to give the proper scent, as it were, to the Infernal Bloodhounds, in their quest of human prey.

But the Curse-Tablets, after all, make but dreary reading. As one turns over the pages of the huge Greek and Latin Corpora of inscriptions, or examines the specialized collections of Wuensch³

¹ C. I. L. III. p. 961.

² I Kings, 22, 11; cf. II Chron., 18, 10.

³ *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*.

or Audolent,¹ he cannot but be impressed with the utter lack of originality shown by the authors. They adhere to their formula with here and there, as we have noted, a slight touch of picturesqueness. Perhaps, however, they did not dare to deviate; who can blame them? For they were dealing with exceedingly dangerous powers, and tampering with the unholy machinery might have meant the loss of a limb or of life itself. So they wisely put their trust in the modern maxim of "Safety first." We may not censure the conservatism of the authors, though we cannot but deplore it.

We must not, however, pass over one notable rift in the clouds of conventionality—a rift through which shines a ray of most pleasing light. One man of originality has appeared, who has not lacked the courage to break the established rules. His Curse-Tablet has—after reposing for two thousand years—been at length brought to light at Salernum, the old Campanian town which tradition has marked as the place of burial of the Apostle Matthew. The value of a literary masterpiece is not infrequently held to be more or less in proportion to its length. But in the case of our inscription this criterion must needs be dropped; for the document constitutes—as far as I am aware—the briefest example of the formal Roman Curse known to epigraphists. We have but six words in all, pricked out with a sharp instrument on a leaden plate:²

LOCVS. CAPILLO

RIBVS

EXPECT

AT. CAP

VT. SV

VM

That is to say, "*Locus capillo ribus (=rivus): expectat caput suum;*" *Anglice*, "The stream is the place for the hair: it awaits its own head." This we may interpret more freely; "The hair of So-and-so has now its place of abode in the stream, and awaits the head of its owner to follow." The attendant circumstances are

¹ *Defixionum Tabellae*.

² C. I. L. X. 511.

obvious; a lock of hair, or perhaps only a single hair, is secured by stealth, and cast into the brook to aid in furthering the accomplishment of the design—a death by drowning.

Here is intellect; here is imagination; here is a break with the conventional. The soul of the Hater throws off the impediments of the ritual, and rises to the height of true mystery; as Tacitus says, *omne ignotum pro magnifico est*.¹

Nor is this all. The man (or is it a woman?) is a poet, and that too in more than a secondary sense. If we omit the final word of the sentence, *suum*, we have left a perfect iambic-trimeter line. Not only is the author of the Curse able to break with tradition and to riddle darkly, but he has the power of poetical expression as well. Compared with his fellows he is a genius. Truly “the words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one shepherd.”

¹ Agric., 30, 4.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

HOMER AND LITTLE FISHES

In a recent article in the *Classical Weekly*, (15, 164) Mr. Fraser makes the attractive and interesting suggestion that the Homeric heroes abstained from fish because of a tabu that the common people were not required to observe. That the heroes did abstain, that is, that they ate fish only when driven by dire necessity, is a commonplace of ancient and modern Homeric study. It is not as often explicitly stated, but it ought to be, that the common people ate fish freely,—indeed it was one of their important food-staples. "And the black earth bears wheat and barley," says Odysseus, (Od. xix, 111-114, Lang's Tr.) "and the trees are laden with fruit, and the sheep bring forth and fail not, and the sea gives store of fish, and all out of his good guidance, and the people prosper under him." Amidst these visible signs of a people's prosperity, no mention, we notice, is made of the fat cattle and fatter swine, in which the heroes delighted,—when they could get them. The social dietary cleft is marked enough.

But is the cleft based on religion, as Mr. Fraser argues, or on the humdrum fact that the poet thought fish wretchedly bad food, as Professor Scott believes (*Class. Journ.* 12, 328; 17, 226; *Unity of Homer*, pp. 6 seq.)? Well, both reasons are good ones. In many places, we know, fishes were not eaten because they were holy, and not because they were poor in quality. And some of these places were much nearer than Peru and Sumatra, which Mr. Fraser found in the Golden Bough. The author of the *Golden Bough* in a note to Pausanias, iv, 153-154, has collected a number of instances of veneration of fishes closer to the Scamander, one in Smyrna itself. And if the word "hieros" in Homer always meant "tabu," the case would have been proved, because Homer speaks of *λεπιδὲ ἰχθύῳ*, "a sacred fish" (Il. xvi, 407). In later Greek, *λεπιδε* does mean "tabu," among other things. But we can scarcely say it does in Homeric usage, unless threshing-floors are tabu, (Il. v, 499) and sentinels (Il. x, 56) and the like.

There is another consideration, however, that weakens Mr. Fraser's position. Some things in ancient Greece could not be eaten because they were religiously unclean. But when people refrain for that reason, they generally tell us so. The Homeric heroes, on the contrary, plainly state that when they refrain, they do so because they despise fish as a food. At least they eat it only under protest, driven by gnawing hunger. And nothing happens to them. Now, that is quite irregular for tabus. If this was a violation, their hunger would have constituted no excuse, any more than a guiltless shedder of blood in later Hellas, was saved from miasma by his innocence, or the

companions of Odysseus, who had killed the Sun's cattle in desperate need, were saved by their extremity from the god's wrath, (Od. xii, 327 seq.).

In one or two Mediterranean regions, where fish were indubitably holy, the inference that people drew as to the propriety of eating them, was just the opposite to that which Mr. Fraser supposes Homeric people to have drawn. The Syrians and Philistines certainly worshipped or venerated fishes, but instead of the nobles abstaining and the commons partaking, in Askelen the dignitaries, i.e., the priests,—and they alone,—ate of the holy thing. So Mnaseas tells us, (ap. Athenaeus, vii, 8, 346d), and it was something that even an irresponsible marvel-monger might have seen with his own eyes. Here, too, with a real fish-tabu in operation, the consequences were the normal ones. Those who ate fish were afflicted with sores or ulcers. (Selden, *De Dis Syr.*, 2, 3; *Enc. Bib. s.v. fish*; Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Sem.* 292.)

Professor Scott thinks Homer may have been a Smyrnaean, as the best authenticated ancient tradition held. At the present day, the river fish in the neighborhood of Smyrna are very poor. Since there is every reason to believe that the situation has not materially changed even in three thousand years, Homer may have grown up with a contempt for fish, and ascribed to his heroes a lordly distaste for them. But as Mr. Fraser points out, Smyrna was a sea-port, and it is quite possible that whatever may have been the quality of the river-fish, the sea-fish were good. Indeed, in later times, many of the cities on the Asiatic coast, whether on the Aegean, the Propontis, or the Euxine, were famous fish-marts from which fish of all sorts were exported to all parts of the world. Smyrna was not very far from the Hellespont, and to "carry fish to the Hellespont," ἰχθὺν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον, was as proverbially futile as to carry coals to Newcastle. To come very close to our region, Schliemann found what he thought were the vertebrae of tunny fish and dog-fish in the ruins of the third or fourth city on the hill at Hissarlik (Ilios, pp. 360, 364).

But the fact that some cities on the Asiatic coast were fish-marts, does not quite establish that Smyrna was one. Indeed, in the not infrequent enumeration of sources of the fish-supply, we shall find Smyrna mentioned only in a particular way. Oribasius, for example, quotes Xenocrates *in extenso* on the subject of fish (ii, 58, p. 151, Bussenaker and Daremberg). We learn there that Smyrna was known only for its sea-squirts, or ascidians, which Homeric society probably had not yet learned to enjoy. And the Dorian who wrote *On Fishes*, (ap. Athen. 319 d) speaks of the size and variety of all species of sharks in Smyrna and the Gulf of Smyrna. The other great Ionian sea-port, Miletus, was especially famous for "sea-wolves," *λυφι, λάβρακες*, a large and ravenous fish, sometimes identified, but dubiously, with the sea-bass.

The presence of such fish may have meant that other fish were plentiful; but it does seem rather likely that the larger and more succulent of food fishes shunned such grisly company, and that the sea-wolves fed on the smaller fishes that teemed in these waters. So that, neither in the sea, nor in the streams, would a native of Smyrna find such material for training a nice palate in the discrimination of fishes.

The instance of veneration of fishes at Smyrna, that has been referred to is given to us in an inscription, (Dittenberger, Syll. 2nd ed. No. 584). But the fish here are those of a sacred pool, *ἱερὸν ῥοχθίων*, and the pool was unquestionably dedicated to Atargatis, the Dea Syria. It therefore tells us nothing of Smyrnaean practise.

All this cannot prove that Homer was a Smyrnaean. But if he was, it will explain why he might have defined a gentleman as a man who disdained to eat fish.

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APOLLO AS AN ASIATIC DIVINITY

In an address delivered in Oxford in 1908 Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff advocated the theory that Apollo was an Asiatic god taken over by the Greeks, and that in Homer this divinity was still regarded as foreign and hostile. He argues also that the Homeric Apollo has few of the attributes of the later Hellenic god.

These quotations will show the basis of his theory: p. 28: "In Homer Apollo makes no music, no prophecy."; p. 31: "It is not until Hesiod and Greece proper that the Muses form a choir for Apollo's harping."; p. 29: "The only reference to Delphi and its treasures comes in a poem whose geographical horizon is different from all the rest."; p. 31: "Apollo bears the name Letoides: it is the only metronymic in Olympus, and it was only among the Lycians that sons bore their mothers' names."; p. 33: "Apollo was the alien and hostile god."

His four arguments will be taken up in the above order: 1) *Apollo makes no music in Homer and is not connected with the Muses.* At the close of the feast of the gods at the end of the first book of the Iliad we have these words: "There was no lack of the lyre which Apollo had, nor of the Muses who sang responding with melodious voice." In the last book of the Iliad, verse 63, Hera tells how Apollo had brought his lyre to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. When Odysseus listened to the song of Demodocus, Odysseus viii, 488, he asked him the source of his music, "Did the Muse teach you, or even Apollo himself?"

2) *Apollo is no prophet and is not connected with Delphi, except in one late passage.*

Iliad IX, 405: "The rich shrine of Phoebus Apollo, in rocky Pytho." Odysseus viii 79: "Thus Phoebus Apollo gave oracular response to him, in goodly Pytho, when he crossed over the stone threshold for the purpose of consulting the god." Besides these positive references we have inferences of his prophetic skill in such expressions as o 526, "As he spake a bird of omen flew on his right, a hawk, the swift messenger of Apollo;" and o 245 where the seer Amphiaraus is called "the beloved of Apollo."

3) *The metronymic Letoides shows Lycian connections, since only in Lycia were such names used.*

This is, no doubt, based on the story of the Lycians as told in Herodotus I, 173. Stein in his great edition of Herodotus makes the following comment

on that passage: "This remarkable custom, i.e., of naming the children from the mothers, did not arise until after the Persian war. The women who survived married aliens, but maintained their natural superior rank by reason of their Lycian birth and their own property." If this custom did arise in Lycia as the result of the slaughter of the men during the Persian conquest, then, of course, all evidence for Homeric or Hesiodic times vanishes. The last phrase which asserts that this custom existed in no country but in Lycia ignores the clear statement of Polybius XII, 5, which says regarding the Locri Epizephyrii, "Every distinction existing among them is traced by the female and not by the male side."

4) *Apollo was an alien and hostile god.*

One needs hardly to do more than quote the constantly recurring Homeric verse, "Would, O father Zeus, Athena, and Apollo," to prove that this is an error. These words are found on the lips of Agamemnon, Nestor, Achilles, Menelaus, Alcinoüs, Telemachus, and Laertes, but never on the lips of an Asiatic.

This formula seems to belong to the very heart of early beliefs, and the prominence of this epic trinity must be regarded as a sure indication of age-long devotion.

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Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

The Classical Association of Southern California had the unique privilege, at its holiday session, of hearing from a living witness how the classics were taught sixty years ago. At the most, only one of those who heard was alive at the time spoken of, and he unable to prove it from memory. The story was gripping and the impressions vivid. The speaker, Ex-President Flavel Luther, of Trinity College, was not always complimentary to modern methods in his comparisons. In view of our present frenzied search for some new way of doing an old thing, his comments could not fail to rivet our attention. His chief lesson, strongly emphasized, was that personality on the part of the instructor outweighs all pedagogical theories.

Though formerly a professor of Mathematics, Dr. Luther is thoroughly alive to the value of the classics.

Georgia

Atlanta.—The Second Annual Meeting of the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South was held at Atlanta on April 27, 28 and 29.

The program was as follows:

Address of Welcome, by Dean Theodore H. Jack, Emory University; "Classic Fingerprints on Modern Civilization," by A. J. Aven, Mississippi College; "De Tocqueville's Study of Classics in a Democracy," by W. A. Montgomery, William and Mary College; "Virginia Georgics," by H. C. Lipscomb, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; "Wells on Roman History," by G. A. Harrer, University of North Carolina; "Walter Map: The Life and Personality of a Twelfth Century Classicist," by James Hinton, Emory University; "A Discussion of the Vergilian Simile in Aeneid I, 498-505," by A. J. Bondurant, University of Mississippi; "De Vita Juvenalis," by H.

M. Poteat, Wake Forest College; "Stock Themes in the Entrance Speeches of Roman Comedy," by Helen H. Law, Meredith College; "The Purpose of the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus," by H. M. Houston, Martha Washington College; "Res Metrica—Obiter Dicta," by C. R. Harding, Davidson College; "Some Phases of the Greek Spirit in Later Literature," by A. W. McWhorter, Hampden-Sidney College; "Roman Historians: Their Use of Sources," by C. E. Boyd, Emory University; "The Underworld of Vergil," by E. L. Green, University of South Carolina; "An Analysis of Failures in Latin," by May Franklin, Concordia School, Jacksonville; "Modern Tendencies in the Teaching of Latin," by M. E. Hutchinson, Emory and Henry College; "An Enlarged Program of Reading," by J. B. Game, State College for Women, Florida; "Suggestions for the High School Latin Curriculum," by P. C. Stringfield, Mars Hill College; "Is the Teaching of Latin in the High School Functioning Efficiently?" by J. L. Roberts, High School, Jackson, Mississippi; Open Forum for Discussion of High School Problems, Conducted by J. B. Game, State College for Women.

Illinois

Bloomington.—Professor Francis M. Austin, for twenty years the head of the Department of Latin at Illinois Wesleyan University, died on February 4th, after an illness of but five days.

Professor Austin was a native of the State of Ohio. He received his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees from Ohio Wesleyan University, and afterward did two years of post graduate work at Johns Hopkins University where he was a fellow in Latin. He came to Illinois Wesleyan with several years of successful teaching experience. He was a thorough student, scholarly in his tastes, and an excellent teacher.

He was always interested in the work of the Methodist Church, and four times was elected to General Conference. He was a member of Grace Church, Bloomington, where he was a loyal, faithful worker. He was interested in all movements which had anything to do with the betterment of the community in which he lived. His loss will be keenly felt by all who knew him.

Kentucky

Paris.—A copy of the monthly publication of the Paris High School has been sent in by Miss Lucile Harbold, of the Latin department. It is the Latin club of that school which has had the initiative and energy to provide the school with a publication. The *Parisian Oracle* is a pleasing little paper devoted, for the most part, to the affairs of the school in general, but with interesting mention of the Latin club and its activities.

Louisville.—Mr. J. Franklin Ray, Jr., assistant business manager of the *Latin Club Bulletin* of the Louisville Male High School, has mailed us a copy of the *Bulletin*, edited by six boys of the Latin club. This paper, written in English, and exclusively occupied with classical matters, has fine literary and educational merit, with a dash of youthful and modern spice which is very appealing. The variety and interest of subject matter is at once apparent. The Louisville Latin club believes that its publication of sixteen

pages a month is the largest of the kind in the United States, and wishes to be informed, if mistaken. Certainly, the paper is well worth examining.

Important place is given to mention of the third Bi-state Contest set for Latin students of Kentucky and Indiana High Schools, and all the pains taken to make this a happy and memorable occasion. Such a contest must be a great stimulus to students and teachers. Is this not an excellent idea to follow?

Lexington.—The Kentucky Classical Association held its third annual meeting on April 28 and 29.

The purposes of the Kentucky Classical Association are:

(1) To organize the classical teachers of Kentucky for the encouragement and improvement of the teaching of the classics.

(2) To provide a clearing-house of ideas and information on the teaching of the classics.

(3) To finance and arrange annual meetings of the classical teachers of the state in which the problems of Latin teaching can be discussed, and messages of information and inspiration can be heard from prominent classical scholars within and without the state.

(4) To promote an annual Latin tournament amongst high school pupils of the state.

(5) To provide such other activities as may be found desirable for the promotion of the general purpose of the Association.

Most of these objects have already been realized. The program of the third annual meeting included:

1. A classical play, staged by the senior high school under the direction of Miss Mary Wood Brown, head of the department of Latin.

2. An address by Dr. Mason D. Gray on the classical survey.

3. An illustrated lecture by Dr. H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University, on "The Parthenon, Gem of Greek Architecture."

Mississippi

The University of Mississippi.—The enrollment in the Greek and Latin Departments at the University of Mississippi has almost reached the pre-war basis. Mississippi College and the State College for Women also report larger classes in the classics than for some years. The classical department at Millsaps College is also in a flourishing condition. Blue Mountain College has a live classical department under the direction of Miss Lucy Hutchins. Recently the Latin Club of this institution gave a Latin Evening, with a most attractive program, one of its chief features being "A Roman School" by Miss Paxon. A number of the high schools in the state have Latin Clubs; Superintendent Byrd reports a membership of over a hundred in the Brookhaven High School.

The Greek and Latin Clubs at the University of Mississippi have an excellent enrollment, and the monthly meetings have been well attended. In the Greek Club the programs have centered around the Odyssey. In the Latin Club the following subjects are given as typical: "Horace and His Haunts"; "Vergil"; "The Private Life of the Romans," including "The Life of the Roman Boy and the Roman Girl." The last meeting of the Club was

an open one and the photo-drama, "Julius Caesar," was given to an audience of about four hundred in the University Chapel. The film was very much appreciated, not only by the classical students but by the others who constituted the audience, and it is the purpose of the Club to present one or more of the Kleine films each year.

The State Classical Association has been in existence for sixteen years and has been one of the chief agencies in maintaining an interest in the classics in this state. The next meeting will be held in Jackson in conjunction with the State Teachers' Association and some of the topics for discussion are as follows: "The Cultural Value of Latin for the High School Student"; "The Present Status of Latin in the High Schools of Mississippi"—a Round Table discussion; "The Latin Course for the High School Student during the Second Year"; "The Value of Latin as a Preparation for the Mastery of English"; "A Greek Story-Teller."

Each spring there is held at the University a High School Meet. This attracts students from all over the state and examinations are given upon second year, third year, and fourth year Latin, and medals are awarded to the successful contestants. For years the students enrolling for the Latin contests compare favorably in every particular with those who contest for the English, Mathematical, and History medals. Last year they constituted one of the largest groups.

The teachers of the state are rapidly becoming acquainted with the plans and purposes of the classical survey made under the direction of the American Classical League, and a number are cooperating in this work.

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh.—The Classical Association of the Atlantic States held its sixteenth annual meeting at the University of Pittsburgh on April 28-29, in conjunction with the Classical Association of Pittsburgh and Vicinity. Sessions were held on Friday afternoon, Saturday morning and afternoon, with the Annual Dinner on Friday night at the Hotel Schenley.

The Classical Association of Pittsburgh and Vicinity held its March meeting in conjunction with the Western Pennsylvania Education Association on March 25. Mr. G. B. Hatfield of the Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, spoke on The Cult of Isis and Serapis in the Later Roman Empire. The value of some acquaintance with Roman religion to all teachers of Latin or of Ancient History was convincingly shown. Dr. G. C. L. Riemer, Director of Foreign Languages, Department of Public Instruction, led a discussion of the new Latin Syllabus for Pennsylvania. This Syllabus has been prepared by two committees, a western committee, headed by Mr. Norman E. Henry, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh, for the first two years, and an eastern committee for the third and fourth years and for Greek. The Chairman of this committee is Miss Jessie E. Allen of the Philadelphia High School for Girls. The Syllabus seems to present some novel and valuable features, particularly in its emphasis on word-study, on sight translation, its recommendation of a more varied reading matter, its provision for giving pupils a better historical background, and its desire to make each year of Latin valuable even for the student who ends his Latin work with that year.

Athens.—Mr. Carl W. Blegen, of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, sends us the following news items: "The Annual Professor for the current year is Dr. E. Y. Robbins of Princeton, who is here with Mrs. Robbins. Dr. L. B. Holland of the University of Pennsylvania is Architect of the School. Regular members of the School are B. D. Meritt of Hamilton College, Fellow of the Institute, Dr. F. P. Johnson of Johns Hopkins, Fellow of the School, F. C. Fry of Hamilton, and K. Scott of Williams. W. R. Agard of Amherst and Oxford expects to be at the School during the spring.

Miss Edwards, Professor of Greek at Wellesley, has recently arrived in Athens after a tour of Egypt and Palestine and plans to stay until the summer.

October and November were as usual devoted to travel. Two long journeys were made, one in Central Greece and one in the Peloponnese. The use of Ford automobiles for both these expeditions greatly simplified the problem of getting from place to place where highroads exist and made it possible to visit some districts that would otherwise have been almost inaccessible. The Ford car presented to the School by the American Red Cross Commission to Greece has thus again proved of great value.

In the course of the Peloponnesian trip an important prehistoric site was discovered in Arcadia at Hagiorgitika (St. George) near Tripolis. Many fragments of pottery resembling the neolithic ware of the Second Thessalian Period were collected here, the southernmost point at which such neolithic pottery has yet been found. This discovery lends strong support to the theory that up to the end of the Neolithic Age the whole mainland of Greece was occupied by a more or less homogeneous culture with northern affinities which at the beginning of the Bronze Age was overrun and supplanted by a new intrusive civilization, probably from the Aegean.

Sir Arthur Evans has paid a brief visit to Athens, his first since the outbreak of the European War. The members of the school had the privilege of hearing him discuss a number of interesting objects in the Mycenaean room of the National Museum.

Excavation for the foundations of a house near the Cerameicus have recently brought to light a splendid archaic relief which was found built into the Themistoclean Wall. It is a base, probably of a statue, carved on three sides in low relief, representing athletic scenes from the life of the gymnasium. The base has been removed to the National Museum, where it forms a noteworthy addition to the collection.

B. D. Meritt has spent part of the winter in exploration in Southern Macedonia, investigating certain problems connected with the campaign of Brasidas as recorded by Thucydides.

The joint excavations of the School and The Fogg Museum of Art are expected to begin in April. If the political situation allows, it is hoped that the expedition may be able to commence its operations at the site of Colophon in Asia Minor.

Miss A. L. Walker is completing her study of the pottery from the main excavations at Corinth. In this connection she will probably conduct some further excavation in the spring."

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. Ullman, University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be answered in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

Of all the parts of speech in Latin the verb is by far the most important for English derivatives, and of the various parts of the verb the most important is the past participle. Next comes the present stem. The inference is obvious that there must be much drill on the past participle. Probably the best thing to do is to drill on principal parts. This is of great value for Latin too. I am inclined to think that the teaching of principal parts receives too little attention. I note in the Texas *Latin Leaflet* this statement: "Almost every teacher fails in the first year [I would not restrict this criticism to the first year] to give enough time to the teaching of principal parts of verbs, and teachers are rare who develop verbs by systems." The suggestion is also made that the English derivatives be used to help fix the forms, e. g., *videre* (*provide*)—*visus* (*provision*). This is an excellent plan, especially in connection with a vocabulary notebook, such as one of those described in the "Hints" for December, 1920.

The Latin Leaflet

At the request of the Latin teachers of Texas the University of Texas has begun the publication of a *Latin Leaflet*, sent free to Texas teachers. This is somewhat like *Latin Notes*, published at the University of Wisconsin, of which I have made mention, but contains more material. Two numbers of the *Leaflet* have appeared. They contain items of interest to Texas teachers and suggestions on teaching similar to these "Hints." The editor is Miss Roberta F. Lavender. Among other items is a plea for diagramming, a topic about which I expressed myself unfavorably in the January "Hints," though admitting that many excellent teachers would disagree with me. In view of what I said about the cumbersomeness of diagramming it seems to me significant that the article on diagramming is the longest in the two numbers.

Mention may be made at this time of other state publications of a somewhat similar nature. The *News Letter* of the University of Pittsburgh,

edited by Professor Evan T. Sage, consists of several mimeographed sheets and contains items of general information, teaching helps, announcements, etc. It is issued eight times a year and is now in its third year. It is intended for the Latin teachers of Western Pennsylvania. The *News Letter* of Ohio University, edited by Professor Victor D. Hill, is now in its second year. It is sent to the teachers of Southeastern Ohio. From the University of Iowa I have for three years been sending to Iowa teachers *Occasional Letters*, whose purpose is to instill in them a group spirit and to give them information of special interest and occasional teaching helps also.

All of these publications, including the latest and most pretentious, the Texas *Latin Leaflet*, are, it seems to me, doing excellent work in reaching all of the Latin teachers of their districts.

Vocabulary Drills

The principle of the spelling-match has been adapted to Latin teaching in many ways. Miss Florence M. Helmich, of the Sturgeon Bay, Wis., High School, furnished a slight variation of a familiar adaptation in that she grades the students individually. She writes:

The class is divided into two sections, with a leader for each side. Each leader passes to the board and writes the names of the others on his side in a column below his name. As I call on the various people, passing from side to side, they respond with the vocabulary desired. A perfect recitation scores not only for them individually but also for their side. In this way I am able to give them individual class marks while the competition affords enjoyment and gives good practice in oral work, which is indispensable. It can also be used for drill in forms.

Another plan is suggested by Miss E. Lucile Noble, of the Upper Darby, Pa., High School:

I have recently discovered a device in vocabulary for first-year pupils which has aroused the interest of my dullest boys and produced astonishing results.

I put on the front board Latin words from several recent lessons, arranged in three or four columns. Two pupils of about equal ability are then sent to the board with pointers. A third pupil calls out the English words, while a fourth keeps the scores of the two contestants, giving a point each time to the one who can first point to the correct Latin translation. The fun is to keep the pointers jumping around the board. Besides keeping four students busy at once this plan keeps the interest of the whole class focused on the board to see whether they can find the Latin word called for. It has helped their spelling perceptibly to see the word continually written correctly. The class enjoys selecting the pupils to contest together. At first it is better for the teacher to call out the words until the brighter students are quite familiar with them. I pass this on with the sincere hope that it will stimulate other classes as it has mine.

Reviewing Essentials

Miss Elizabeth S. Kates, of the Millville, N. J., High School, has sent in a small printed folder of four pages containing the minimum requirement for seniors in their review of Latin inflections and syntax. The various topics are briefly listed with pertinent facts, e. g., under "Declension of Nouns" is

given "First—a stems—feminine," etc.; under "Adjectives" is given "Second group—third declension. a. Three terminations. b. Two terminations. c. One termination." Under "Syntax" are treated such topics as direct questions, sequence of tenses, mood syntax. For noun syntax reference is made to the grammar.

Such a pamphlet makes it easier for the student to know for what he is to be held responsible and helps him in his review work.

Conundrums

A fuller answer to the conundrum which I gave in the October number is furnished by Professor A. W. Hodgman, of the Ohio State University: "Why is the third conjugation like an old maid? The first and second conjugations have *do's* in the future, but the third has no hopes of ever having one." For those who object to the sentiment I have devised this one: "Why is the future of the third conjugation like a wild horse? Because it has no bit." Such conundrums are useful teaching devices. There must be others like them.

Other types of conundrums, puzzles, jokes, etc., are useful occasionally as creating interest and amusement in a dull class or at a social gathering. I shall print them from time to time, and shall be glad to get others. Many of those I have were supplied or recalled to me by Professor Hodgman. A very simple type consists of what appears to be a jumble of Latin words which make an English sentence when translated literally or read with the English pronunciation. Examples are: *Qui crudus pro te lectus albo et spiravit.* (Who-raw for the (e) red white and blew.)

Caesar sic dicat in a cur an i gessi lictum. (Caesar sicked a cat on a cur an' I guess 'e licked 'im.)

Sit stillabit sed amanto hiscat. (Sit still a bit said a man to his cat.)

Sibylle, Sibylle, heres ago. (See, Billy, see, Billy, here's a go.)

Forte omnibus in aro. (Forty omnibus in a row.)

Nobile, nobile, Themis trux. (No, Billy, no, Billy, them is trucks.)

si vates enim, pisum dux. (See what is in 'em, peas an' ducks.)

Mollis abuti. (Molly's a beauty.)

Has an acuti. (Has an acute eye.)

No lasso finis. (No lass so fine is.)

Molli divinis. (Molly divine is.)

(Attributed to Dean Swift.)

*O is acer sed iacto his mas lerat te,
Cantu passus sum jam? notabit anser de.*

*Mi jam potis empti, solis tento mi,
For uva da lotas i vere vel si.*

("O I say, sir," said Jack to his master at tea,
"Can't you pass us some jam?" "Not a bit," answered 'e.
"My jam pot is empty, so listen to me,
For you've 'ad a lot as I very well see.")

Latin Composition

M. A. P. McKinlay, of the University of California, Southern Branch, has this to say on Latin composition in general:

Long years of teaching Latin composition have led me more and more to the conclusion that the secret of success is to see to it that the student feels a constantly growing mastery of his subject. If he does, you are succeeding; if not, you are failing.

I divide my remarks into two parts: *Composition for beginners*, *Connected discourse*.

How I handle the former may be illustrated as follows:

A member of the department sends me a pupil who has trouble with his work. I immediately ask for his notebook. I find his *English into Latin* exercises are full of errors. I go to the board and write these following tables:

Nouns and adjectives

vocabulary forms, nom. and gen.
declensions
gender
number
case

Verbs

principal parts
conjugation
voice
mood
tense (with sign)
ending

word (as it should be)

word (as it should be)

I then have the student correct one noun, one adjective, and one verb filling in each table fully. If he does not understand just what to do, I go over the work with him carefully. I then have him copy the tables, tell him to use them in preparing his next lesson and make an appointment for the next day to check upon results. The improvement usually is several hundred per cent. In most cases the student does not need to be sent back unless it may be at the end of the term to present with pride a practically perfect paper.

Connected discourse is handled as follows: I instruct the students to examine all independent clauses carefully to see whether some of them cannot be subordinated. This test is to be applied to groups of sentences as well as clauses within sentences. Each clause is to be subjected to the following tests and in the following order:

Can its verb be expressed by a deponent participle; by a participle, especially present agreeing with some word in the main clause not in the nominative case, by an ablative absolute, by a subordinate clause. If none of these possibilities will work, then the clause is to be left as it is.

I find that this method serves to produce the feeling of gradual mastery. That it meets with response on the part of the students is seen in the fact that at the last mid year the class increased by voluntary election from six to fifteen.

He writes further about Latin Composition in connection with Cicero:

Most of my teaching experience has been in the high schools of Portland, Oregon. At Lincoln High School in 1914 we revised the Latin course so as to break the year of Cicero. The sixth semester we read Ovid and Vergil; the seventh, Vergil; the eighth, Cicero. We had no composition the sixth and seventh terms. The eighth we took it up again with Cicero. Strange to relate the change brought striking results. The students did their work easily and with pleasure. There was a remarkable contrast to the conditions of Latin Composition in the fifth semester. This program was followed till I left Portland in 1919. As far as I know it is still in use.

Miss Lucile Harbold, of the Paris, Ky., High School, writes:

We have Latin Composition once a week in our Caesar classes. Instead of calling it "Latin Composition," the pupils select a name which they like for it. One class calls theirs F. A. T. C., "First Aid to Caesar." When composition day comes, they say we have F. A. T. C. tomorrow and they love to say it. This gets them away from the idea of composition which has a stiff distasteful effect on them.

On F. A. T. C. day we elect a captain who writes the sentences on the board as they are given out by the different pupils. He is responsible for every mistake given to him, and leaves a blank when he thinks it is wrong. After the whole sentence is finished, he then calls on the pupils to correct or fill in the blanks. Then they correct the mistakes on each other's papers from the perfect sentences on the board. Another Caesar class calls composition their T. C. T. "Travel, Caesar, Travel!" They really enjoy Latin Composition, strange to say!

This calls for two remarks: first the subject of "composition" is in general so distasteful on account of its difficulty and the earlier methods of teaching that the very name must be avoided. This reminds one of the Greeks who changed the name of the Black Sea from *Axenos* ("inhospitable") to *Euxenos* ("hospitable"), and of the people who changed the name of their town from *Maleventum* (which seemed to mean "badly come," "unwelcome," though that was not its origin) to *Beneventum* ("welcome"). Secondly, I want to recall what I said in the October number about the objection from the standpoint of present-day teaching practice to the terms "composition," "prose composition" and "prose," the last of which is utterly foolish. I wish we could find a term which would be generally accepted.

Book Reviews

The Unity of Homer. BY JOHN A. SCOTT (Sather Classical Lectures, Volume One), Berkeley, California: The University of California Press, 1921. 8vo; pp. 225.

Professor Scott's book is the ardent plea of a lawyer rather than the judicial conclusions of a scholar. (This may be partly explained by the fact that it was originally composed for oral presentation.) We may illustrate its method by an example found at the very outset (pages 6-7), where the author chooses to argue that Homer was a native of Smyrna.

One of the arguments employed is this: "... yet in Homer the heroes spurned fish and the two passages which describe the eating of that food add the pardoning phrase, 'for they were on the verge of starvation.' (δ 369, μ 332.) ... An educated native of Smyrna has assured me that fish from nearby streams are regarded by the natives with great disfavor and that this food is eaten only by the very poor. Evidently it was no accident that made Homer describe his heroes as abstaining from fish except under great compulsion, and we have in this a touch of local color and of local prejudice. It was because fish were in such disfavor as food in the neighborhood of Smyrna that the poet could not bring himself to serve them to his mighty warriors."

Now this is the language of a lawyer, who, if he had been arguing the other side, could have brought forward a totally different set of facts. The scholar would have added, for the sake of comparison and contrast, the fact that Homer shows thorough familiarity with the processes of fishing both with the rod or hand line Π 407-8, Ω 80-82 (deep sea fishing), μ 251-4, with spears, κ 124, and with seine χ 384-7. Clearly the purpose of such fishing was food and not sport, as was the case also with the diving for shell fish (Π 746). In fact among the evidences of prosperity which Odysseus lists in τ 109-14, he puts alongside of wheat and barley, fruit and flocks, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς. To be fair, Professor Scott should have stated also that in μ 330-2 the text reads:

Καὶ δὴ ἄγρην ἐφέπασκον . . .
ἰχθῦς δρυνθᾶς τε, φίλας δ' τι χεῖρας ἱκοῖτο,

that is, birds are here put on precisely the same level as fish. The heroes were driven by hunger to catch birds as well as fish for food, and that birds were used for food in everyday life is clear from χ 468-70. To one who believes in the verbal inspiration of the King James version of the Bible, it would be monstrous to say anything about the ending of the second Gospel, and it surely would be ungracious to suggest to Professor Scott that μ 332 bears a strange resemblance to δ 369, and that interpolation (Heaven save the mark!) in Homer may be a possibility, as is surely the case in δ 483.

That the Homeric warriors did little fishing is not strange. In the late war the despatches of Philip Gibbs had little to say about fishing. If Philip Gibbs had been writing poetry, he might have compared the barbed-wire entanglements to a long stretching seine, or the agonies of the men who had been gassed to those of fish hauled out on land, but from his despatches it would be hard to tell whether the soldiers, when at home, used fish as food or not. The fact is that in both cases the men went to fight and not to fish.

It is easy to find many other instances in which Professor Scott has stated only one side of the case in his plea, but this is not to say that a lawyer's plea, if he has the right on his side, may not be convincing, and certainly the remarks of the lawyers are more interesting than the decisions of the judge. If the reader will only bear in mind that he is reading here not the decision of the court but the argument of the prosecution, he will find it interesting, stimulative, and profitable.

The first chapter of the book discusses the views of classical Greek writers regarding Homer, and shows that Homer was by them regarded as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but not of the Cyclic poems.

The second chapter, "The Arguments of Wolf," deals briefly with the separatists, rejects the idea of any Attic influence on the text or any serious interpolation, and argues strongly for the authenticity of the vulgate.

Probably the best chapter in the book is the third, "The Linguistic Arguments," in which the author demolishes the "lies, damned lies and statistics," of the detractors of Homer. Certainly those who heard the presentation of its substance as a part of the presidential address at the meeting of the American Philological Association in 1919 are not likely soon to forget its cumulative, compelling force; nor does it lose force on sober reading in print. There is much in it that is striking and quotable, and one is tempted to quote at length, but the limitations of space forbid. *Apud ipsum invenies*. Yet one word of caution; there is nothing more subjective than some kinds of statistics, such, for example, as those of the use of the article as a demonstrative pronoun.

Very much like the third chapter is the fourth, in which the arguments against the unity of the poems, in so far as these arguments are based on antiquities and similar matters, are handled ruthlessly. Needless to say, Finsler and Wilamowitz do not escape censure for contemplating the scene of Odysseus' voyage from the latitude of Berlin. In the fifth chapter the contradictions in the poems are explained with numerous parallel instances from modern writers.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the individualization shown in portraying the gods and heroes, and this is continued into the following chapter, which is devoted to Hector. Both chapters are extremely interesting and stimulative, and contain but little controversial matter.

In the last chapter, "The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*," the author dwells on the similarities between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in language, structure, style, and dramatic and poetic qualities. He rightly stresses the high dramatic qualities of both poems, and remarks that if Homer had lived in the fifth century B.C. he would undoubtedly have been a writer of drama. In fact, Aristotle in the *Poetics* seems to regard the *Iliad* as an epic drama (if one may

so speak) of the type of the Oedipus Tyrannus, and the Odyssey likewise as an epic drama of the type of the Iphigenia in Tauris.

This last chapter, then, devoted largely to constructive criticism, forms a fitting culmination of the whole book, and lovers of Homer owe Professor Scott a large debt of gratitude for having, by means of his explosives, dispelled the clouds of misty criticism which have hung about the Homeric poems, and for letting us once more rejoice in the clear sunlight of Homer's poetry.

FRANK COLE BABBITT

TRINITY COLLEGE

Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XV, of the Egypt Exploration Society. Edit. Grenfell and Hunt. Oxford University Press, 1922; also Egypt Exploration Society, Lond., and 503, Tremont Temple, Boston.

This volume is every whit worthy of a place on the shelf with its predecessors. Notable among classical examples are a considerable fragment of Sappho, III century; a II century fragment, a lyric probably by Alcaeus, and one indubitable I century fragment; two from Pindar, respectively I and II century; a II century fragment of the Trachiniae of Sophocles; two II century bits, Republic Bk. viii and Phaedo, from Plato; two fragments from Demosthenes, II and III centuries; Homer, Iliad i, xv, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiii, III to VI centuries; Odyssey x, xii, xviii, II and VI centuries; and Callimachus, Aratus, Theocritus, Isocrates.

There is a I century bit of lyric poetry, in Doric dialect, from Ibycus. For the legal mind there are selections from the codes of Theodosian and Justinian. There is a poem for the astronomer, a fragment for the botanist, an ethical treatise for the philosopher, glossaries for the linguist, and for the guesser of riddles bits of unknown tragedies, comedies, orations, and romances.

For the theologian we have Hermas, Pastor, Mandate ix.; six lines (V century) of the Constantinopolitan creed, a homily, a most interesting fragment from the Apology of Aristides, another from the Didache §§1, 2, 3, and a Christian hymn (III century) with musical notation, the oldest bit of church music extant. This last, verso on a strip from an account of corn, gives above each line of text, corresponding vocal notes. This the editors have presented with accompanying transcription into modern musical forms. This is a rare bit for the Church historian or student of the history of music. The Biblical student is not overlooked. Ps. 1:4-6, text same as given in Swete, 'O. T. in Greek' except vs. 4, ἀσεβείς for οἱ ἀσεβείς. At the end of vs. 6, ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται has been torn off. From the Fourth Gospel we have chapp. 8:14 (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς—19 (ἔλεγε οὖν), and 16:14 (ὄτι ἐκ τοῦ)—30 (χοεῖαν ἔχεις). The text is very closely that of WH except in chap. 8:14 we read as in WH marg., and in chap. 16 we read ὑμεῖν for ὑμῖν, μέικρον for μικρον evidently λουπηθήσθε (λοπ-), θλίψους for θλίψως. In vs. 29 a second hand has added αὐτῷ (λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μάρτυρες). There are a few omissions from the WH text, as vs. 26, om. παρὶ ἡμῶν; vs. 28, παρὰ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν for WH ἐγὼ παρὰ

τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξῆλθεν; vs. 28, ἐξῆλθεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς for WH ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς. Vs. 24 is a considerable omission (ὥς ἄρτι οὐκ ᾔτησατε οὐδέν), later inserted after vs. 30 by an editorial hand. The eye of the scribe in copying caught the second *ἐκ τοῦ δόματι*, overlooking the words following the first *ἐκ τοῦ δόματι*. In fact the insertion following vs. 30 begins with these last words.

Possibly the original scribe was less skilled or exercised less care, since at least two corrections appear. In ch. viii. the reading is that of WH including the marginal reading in vs. 14. Usual abbreviations of the divine name appear (also *αὐτῶν*, 8:17) in both fragments. Indices verborum and of passages discussed together with cross-references to previous volumes appear, together with table of papyri.

WALLACE N. STEARNS

LEBANON, ILLINOIS

Octavia. With Introduction and Notes by CLARA LOUISE THOMPSON. Pp. xxxiii+77. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1921.

This play offers an especial appeal to students of the Latin Drama. Its uniqueness, as the only extant specimen of the *Praetexta*; its characters, already known to us in Roman history; the liberties taken with time and place in order to present historical persons and events in dramatic form; the question of authorship; the peculiarities of style and versification, all contribute to the fascination of its challenge. Opinions of its merit range from "the best Latin tragedy extant" to Lipsius' *a puero aut pueri saltem modo conscripta*. It is strange that it has not been published before with English helps.

The editor, formerly connected with Rockford College, now is professor in Shorter, where she is trying to inspire among southern girls something of her own enthusiasm for the classics. Her aim in this book, she states, is "to treat the subject chiefly as a drama with the main interest centering around the study of character and the features of heredity, background and atmosphere." The introduction, aside from a brief view of the historic setting and the metres, deals chiefly with answer to the question "Why Study Drama?" It is, she thinks, "related to life much as education to experience. . . . It gives in a kind of predigested form insight gained by another's experience and thought," and she finds in the *Octavia* "a play which lends itself admirably to study from the point of view here presented."

The text is Richter's, with some changes of punctuation and a few variations which are listed in an appendix. In some cases, of course, no satisfactory reading has been found.

The notes are not voluminous—about 33 pages (in smaller type) for 40 pages of text. There is relatively little direct translation. Myths receive generous attention, some having a half-page each, and *Electra* a full page. About a page each is given also to *nomen Augustum* 251, *divusque pater* 286 and *parens* (Cornelia and her jewels) 882. For the most part, however, notes are brief and bear on the difficulty of the passage. Occasionally a bit of dry humor is seen, as in the characterization of *nutrix* 34 as "a sensible

bromidic person"; "*Noblesse oblige* was an idea in the education of Nero which he had not assimilated" 574; "a little habit of hers," on *praeferens facem*, 594.

Dr. Thompson evidently has given her subject thorough study. While we may not be able to agree with her at all points—e.g., that all the Senecan tragedies are based upon Euripides, p. viii; that *Siculum mare* 516 refers to Actium; or the sense given to *impia face* in note on 50—we see in it all evidence of interest and painstaking care.

Failure of the publishers to send an expected final proof has resulted in leaving a number of typographic blunders—e.g., the reference to Ovid in note on v. 7 should be Met. XI. 410; *mutua face* occurs in v. 50, not 59 as in the notes; *superatus* in 519, not 510; Octavia's words referred to in note on 594 begin 23, not 123; misspelled words are metonymy, note on 679; *Senecae* on 696; *coniugis* on 722—besides a number of errors in punctuation.

This little book should meet a welcome from teachers and students of the Latin Drama.

H. M. KINGERY

WESTERVILLE, OHIO

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE

July First and July Third, 1922

BOSTON, MASS.

The third annual meeting of the American Classical League will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the National Education Association in Boston at three o'clock Monday afternoon, July 3d, 1922. The place of the League meeting will be historic Faneuil Hall.

The Council of the American Classical League will meet at ten o'clock Monday morning, July 3d, in Room A, Copley Square Hotel (not the Copley Plaza Hotel), Boston.

The Advisory Committee on the Classical Investigation will meet at ten o'clock in the morning and again at three o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, July 1st, in Room A, Copley Square Hotel (not the Copley Plaza Hotel), Boston.

Copley Square Hotel is on Huntington Avenue and is one block distant from Copley Plaza Hotel. Copley Square Hotel will be the headquarters of the American Classical League. The accommodations are excellent and the rates will be very reasonable to all members of the American Classical League who come. It is desirable to secure reservations well in advance of July first, preferably by June fifteenth.

Later announcements will give exact details as to hotel accommodations and programme.

ANDREW F. WEST

President, American Classical League

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemoke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-55 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32nd St., New York City.

- BOAK, A. E. R. *A History of Rome to 565 A. D.* New York: Macmillan. Pp. xvi+444. \$3.25.
- DEMOSTHENES. *Orationes*, ed. W. Rennie, Vol. II, Part II. (Oxford Classical Texts.) New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xii+196. \$2.00.
- JONES, W. H. S. (ed.) *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1920. London: Murray. Pp. 99. 3s. 6d.
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Editorial

A REMARKABLE GIFT TO CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP

A notable piece of good fortune which has befallen the American School of Classical Studies at Athens is cause for the heartiest congratulations among all teachers of Greek, Latin and allied subjects throughout the country. At the annual meeting of the School's Managing Committee, held on May 13, its Chairman, Professor Edward Capps, made formal announcement that His Excellency Mr. Ioannes Gennadius, dean of the diplomatic service of Greece and for forty years the Greek Minister at the court of St. James, has presented his magnificent library, now in his residence in London, to the American School at Athens, on condition that it shall be properly housed, cared for and made accessible to the scholars of the world who resort to Athens for study. Mr. Gennadius is for the moment in Washington, on a special mission from his country; having long cherished the desire to establish his library, the result of two generations of scholarly collecting, in Athens, and at the same time to strengthen the ties which bind Greece to America, he selected the American School to be the repository and custodian of it—a happy inspiration from every point of view, and, we are convinced, a well-deserved compliment to our Athenian School.

For a full description of the Gennadius Library, together with the correspondence which passed between Mr. Gennadius and Professor Mitchell Carroll, Secretary of the Washington Archaeological Society, Professor Capps, and Justice Loring, President of the Trustees of the School, readers of the JOURNAL are referred to the May number of *Art and Archaeology*.

The Library consists of between 45,000 and 50,000 volumes, all relating to Greece, ancient, Byzantine, and modern—its history, geography, language, literature, art, archaeology, Early Christianity, etc. It comprises a superb set of the first editions of the Greek classics; all the first and rarest editions of the Greek Scriptures, of the Greek Fathers, and of the Greek Liturgies; a full collection of works on travel in Greece and the Levant; some 500 historic and artistic bindings of the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries; a number of manuscripts; and innumerable rare or unique single items. But its chief value is in its completeness as a collection—"uniquely comprehensive within its field" says Mr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of Congress, who has examined the catalogue and appraised the library. It would be safe to estimate the value of the collection in the neighborhood of a quarter of a million dollars.

During the forty years of its existence the American School at Athens has accumulated, through modest buying and through gifts, a working library of some 10,000 volumes. Now at a single stroke it comes into the possession of what is probably the richest and completest collection in the world within its field, which is precisely the field which the School was established to cover, and of a value approaching that of the present total property and endowment of the School. It is an amazing piece of good fortune, and an act of unexampled generosity on the part of the distinguished Hellene who made the gift. Through this gift the School at once enters upon a period of increased usefulness to classical studies.

That Mr. Gennadius has selected precisely the American School at Athens, rather than one of the other learned foundations which have long been established there, recalls sharply to our attention a fact which we are too much inclined to forget—the splendid work which the School, since it was founded in 1881, has with quiet efficiency been carrying on. Established by a group of American colleges and universities, and maintained to this day by some thirty representative institutions which foster liberal studies, it has acquired a high standing among the instrumentalities for the liberalizing of studies which naturally center

in Athens. A steady stream of American scholars has been going thither for over forty years—young scholars to finish their training and the older to gain the inspiration which life in daily association with the land and monuments of Hellas alone can give. Pupils of the School now occupy commanding positions in every part of the land, and their leadership is recognized amongst us. Aspiring young men and women who are looking forward to careers in the several fields of classical studies will be wise if they include in their plans at least a year in Athens, especially now that the privileges of residence there are immeasurably enhanced.

The JOURNAL extends its congratulations to the School, and on behalf of the Classical Association thanks Mr. Gennadius for his magnificent gift to classical scholarship. And we join in the hope that American philanthropy will speedily provide the new building to house the Gennadius collections.

OUR ADVERTISING PAGES

The inclusion of advertising in the JOURNAL, in harmony with the decision reached at the annual meeting in St. Louis a year ago, was confessedly an experiment. To us, and we trust to our readers, the innovation seems to have proved a distinct success. Not only has it added a respectable sum to our resources, but it has become a useful *vade mecum* toward materials and services of help in our teaching and scholarly work. Apparently it has also proved satisfactory to our advertisers, who have repeatedly expressed themselves to that effect in letters to the advertising manager. To this official, Mr. J. S. Grassfield, of the University of Iowa, the JOURNAL is deeply indebted for his industry and enthusiasm in building up our advertising clientèle. Fortunately his services will probably be available for the coming year.

Perhaps the suggestion may not be irrelevant that members of the Classical Association can aid materially in this matter. In the first place, when corresponding with advertisers they can remember to mention the JOURNAL; ordinarily no other means is available to enable advertisers to test the "pulling power" of the JOURNAL as an advertising medium. In the second place, they can

assist by calling attention of possible advertisers to the unique advantages of the JOURNAL, with its circulation of more than 4000 copies among the leading classical scholars of the country. Or, a letter to the advertising manager will serve to put him on the track of firms or individuals having products or services of interest to classical students. Whatever financial advantage accrues from the sale of advertising space will of course be devoted to improving the JOURNAL and advancing the cause of the classics.

Finally, it will not be amiss for us to congratulate ourselves upon the quality of the advertising which the JOURNAL has published. Only the highest type of advertising has been solicited, and our advertising pages have become an entertaining and valuable feature of the magazine.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE PAPYRI

By ROBERT C. HORN
Muhlenberg College

Among the non-literary papyri, discovered in such quantities in the past few years, there are many of great interest in various ways. Some of these are letters which throw a great deal of light upon the conditions of everyday life of their times; some reveal the thoughts and feelings, the hopes and ambitions of the ordinary people of long ago. There are invitations to weddings and dinners; there are charms and amulets; there are curses and blessings; there are letters on every variety of subject. More light is thrown on public, as well as private, life by the census reports, contracts, complaints to officials, marriage contracts, divorces, reports of death, and reports of lawsuits. Some of these documents which were found and published some time ago have been made available to a wide public in convenient and cheap form, in such books as: Milligan, "Greek Papyri"; Witkowski, "Epistulae Privatae Graecae"; Helbing, "Auswahl aus griechischen Papyri"; Laudien, "Griechische Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos"; Lietzmann, "Griechische Papyri." Deissmann in his "Light from the Ancient East" has published and made great use of some of these documents. Erman and Krebs, "Aus den Papyrus der Koeniglichen Museen," one of the illustrated handbooks issued by the authorities of the Berlin Museums, is already out of print. Schubart, "Ein Jahrtausend am Nil," is quite new and very interesting.

The more recently found papyri, however, which are being published as rapidly as possible in the big collections and also in learned publications, cannot be found as yet in these convenient little handbooks.

It may be interesting to examine some of these documents, such as letters and invitations, complaints and reports, to learn what they say and how they contribute to our knowledge of life in ancient times, primarily in Egypt, for many hundred years; and

so we may learn more about the life of ordinary people in the Greco-Roman world. This study is by no means exhaustive. I have chosen what I considered interesting examples, many of them from papyri quite recently published, some from the papyri which have been known for some time. Many other examples might have been cited; but it is hoped that these will give some idea of the wealth of material.

On the occasion of the visit of the king, great preparations must be made, and all things must be put in order. In a papyrus of 253 B.C. we read: "Concerning the place at the locks, direct that it be filled up and leveled against the king's arrival." And below: "Direct Nicostratus more strictly to afford means that the excavation may be filled up and leveled before the king arrives." We cannot help thinking of the Oriental custom of preparing for the arrival of the king; and Isaiah's beautiful reference to this: "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain." An official document of 145 A.D. concerns the visit of the prefect. It is a large document, consisting of three long, broad columns, and part of a fourth; it is a return by the townclerks of Hermopolis of the names of persons on whom the duty falls of furnishing provisions and other supplies on the occasion of the coming visit of L. Valerius Proclus, Prefect of Egypt.

There are some vigorous notices to officials to attend to their business. P.S.I. 47 (of the 6th century) is a very threatening letter from a police official to his subordinates in the village; it is a "Police Take Notice" direct from headquarters. In 245 B.C. Zenodorus writes an order to Ptolemaeus in this fashion: "Zenodorus to Ptolemaeus greeting. If Ctesicles does not send twenty drachmae to Sinaru before the sixth hour on the 19th, send him to me under guard at once, without fail. Goodbye." (Editor's translation.) An order to arrest a slave runs like this: "Flavius Ammonas, officialis of the staff of the prefect of Egypt, to Flavius Dorotheus officialis, greeting. I order and depute you to arrest

my slave called Magnus, who has run away and is staying at Hermopolis, and has carried off certain articles belonging to me, and to bring him as a prisoner together with the head-man of Sesptha. This order is valid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my consent." (Editor's translation.)

Among official reports there are many from public physicians concerning the death of persons. In one of these, of the year 173 A.D., a case of suicide, the physician reports to the strategus of the nome that in accordance with orders he had visited the house and seen the body, hanging by a rope.

Complaints and petitions of the aggrieved and distressed are of special interest; these reveal human nature ever the same, as well as some of the hardships of life. Let us consider first those from people in prison; these three examples are all from the third century B.C. Here is the first; it is a petition to the king: "To King Ptolemy greeting. I, Dionysodorus, am wronged by the jailer in Kerkesoucha. While I was in conversation with Apollonius my relative, upon his demanding certain papers which he had given into my keeping, and when I did not find them, he became angry at me and requested Spinther, the constable in Kerkesoucha, to arrest me. The latter took me to the local jail and told the jailer on what charge I had been arrested, and also to release me if Apollonius orders it. But now he has transferred me to the prison in Crocodilopolis, claiming that I am a criminal. I begged Apollonius to come and grant my release, but he has paid no attention to it. Therefore I beseech you, etc." Here is the second: "To Phaies, the oekonomus, from Ammonius, who acts as scribe in Phlye of the neighborhood of Oxyrhynchus. When I went to the treasurer's office to render my account, this 26th day of the month at the first hour of the day, while I was in the office there came an attendant from Kallon calling me. Putting down my books I went out; and when I had reached the door of the strategus' office, the attendant gave orders to arrest me; and now I am in the day lock-up. Farewell." The third is from the year 255 B.C.: "To Apollonius. Will you be kind enough to show some consideration for us? For it is now a year since it has fallen

to our lot to be bound in prison. And indeed the opportunity is at hand to show consideration for us on the king's birthday."

Women appear to have been very rough at times, particularly toward each other. Here is the complaint of one woman against another, of the year 89 B.C.: "Tetehormais . . . met me in the square of Hermes by the courthouse there, and attacking me in consequence of a dispute gave me very many blows with her hands on every part of my body; and I was in delicate health at the time; so that I was laid up with sickness and my life is endangered. I inform you in order that Tetehormais may be brought up and secured until my case is considered in the appointed time, so that if anything happens to me, she may be treated according to the laws concerning such conduct, and if I survive I may obtain satisfaction from her as is right." Here is a complaint of robbery, of the second or third century A.D.: "To Aurelius Julius Maximus, hekatontarchus, from Isidora (daughter of Asklas) of the village of Karanis. On the 12th of the present month Pachon, Ptolemaeus (son of Ischoras) came to the house that belongs to me and my brothers who are in the service, and he carried off all that I have, no less than 400 drachmae of silver. Wherefore I present this complaint and ask that he be taken before you and receive his deserts from you. Farewell."

In the Collection of the Tebtunis Papyri are a number of these petitions for redress. No. 44 (114 B.C.) is a complaint of assault, made to the komogrammateus (village clerk). Nos. 45, 46, 47 (113 B.C.) are somewhat similar; they are complaints of damage done by marauders. No. 52 (about 114 B.C.) is a petition from a woman Tapentos that her house was forcibly entered, and valuable documents have been stolen. No. 49 (113 B.C.) is a complaint that a neighbor had inundated and ruined the complainant's land; and damages are claimed. No. 50 (112-111 B.C.) shows that damage had been done to crown land by damming up a canal. Such complaints show conditions wonderfully like those existing now between many neighbors, and among those who must dwell in the same city.

Nos. 124-152 of the Rylands Papyri are a formidable collection of complaints from Euhemeria; they are dated petitions of the

first half of the first century A.D. Most of them are addressed to the chief of police. Many are concerned with damage done to crops by sheep; others are complaints of robbery, breach of contract, robbery by a millhand (female), theft of pig, or hay; assault and battery. They are interesting for the light they throw upon living conditions, for the study of the formulas used in such documents, for their contribution to our knowledge of legal matters; and in general for their language, for many of them are in very bad Greek, evidently from very ordinary people. This collection was obtained from what was perhaps the actual débris of the office of the chief of police (archephodos). Some have in a second hand, at the bottom, the recommendation *ἐκπεμψον* (send him up).

The libellus, or certificate of pagan sacrifice, is no longer new. Milligan has published one of these. Several of them are now known. These certificates of pagan sacrifice were issued at the time of the Decian persecution (250 A.D.); it is supposed that pagans as well as Christians furnished themselves with these libelli.

The census returns (*ἀπογραφὰ κατ' οἰκίας*) have also been known for some time. Milligan has published a return for the year 48 A.D., with translation. The great interest of these documents lies in the light they have thrown upon the statement in St. Luke's Gospel (II, 1-3): "Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria. And all went to enrol themselves, every one to his own city." This enrolment, coming every fourteen years, was originated by Augustus. The editors of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri refer No. 254 to the year 20, and No. 256 to A.D. 20 or 34 or even to 6. The first of these enrolments might well have started about B.C. 8. Their bearing upon the statement of St. Luke is admirably treated by Sir William Ramsay in his work, "Was Christ born in Bethlehem?"

Of the year 104, there is a rescript from the prefect requiring all persons residing out of their homes to return to their homes, in view of the approaching census. The census referred to is

that of the seventh year of Trajan. The last part of the rescript, which is mutilated, apparently contains some relaxation of the order in the interests of agriculture. There are other edicts requiring persons to return to their homes, or mention is made of them; but these have no reference to the census, but to persons who have left their homes to avoid public service (*λειτουργίαι*).

Wills, marriage contracts, and divorces are frequent enough. Specimens may be found in Milligan. A number of typical marriage contracts may be found in *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, Nos. 1050-1052 and 1098-1101; and divorces, Nos. 1102-1105.

An interesting revelation of the life of the times is given by an ostrakon of 144 A.D. It is a permit for a hetaera to practise her trade for the present day only. The permit, instead of a receipt for tax, and the time limitation are noteworthy; this is probably due to a festival, and is a special case. (*Archiv.* VI, 219.)

We turn next to private letters, which reflect so clearly the life and conditions of the ordinary people. Here are very many personal statements; here is a genuine revelation of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Little did these people think that their letters would be read by any other than the addressee, least of all by us, so many centuries later.

We learn something about the conditions of writing. One writer at the beginning of a letter, which is a palimpsest (about 350 A.D.) says: "Since I did not find any clean paper at hand, I wrote on this." Another, an illiterate person, whose Greek is quite bad, writes (third century A.D.): "And, if you please, send me some paper without any writing on it, that we may be able to write a letter." A letter of the third century B.C. starts thus: "Aristeas to Demeas greeting. The letter which you sent to me I was not able to read, because it was blotted out; but you seemed to me to have written about the lot." Sometimes, when men were too poor to buy papyrus, or were so situated that they could not get it, they wrote on potsherds or ostraca. Cleanthes the Stoic is said to have written on ostraca or leather because he could not afford papyrus. On one of the potsherds from Egypt is written: "Excuse me that I cannot find papyrus as I am in the country."

There are many invitations, to feasts, weddings, and the like. One of the third century A.D. runs thus: "Isidorus invites you to dine with him at the wedding of his daughter, at the home of Titus the hekatontarchus, tomorrow at the ninth hour." Here is another, of the same date: "Eros invites you to the wedding, which is tomorrow the 29th at the 9th hour." You will observe that the wedding invitations do not allow several weeks for the sake of the dressmaker and the joy of new gowns.

Letters of recommendation are numerous. Here is a good specimen of about 25 A.D.: "Theon to his esteemed Tyrannus, many greetings. Heraclides, the bearer of this letter, is my brother. I therefore entreat you with all my power to treat him as your protégé. I have also written to your brother Hermias asking him to communicate with you about him. You will confer upon me a very great favor if Heraclides gains your notice. Before all else you have my good wishes for unbroken health and prosperity. Good-bye." (Ed.'s trans.) The following is a Christian letter of the fourth century, written on parchment; its language reminds us of that of the New Testament: "Greetings in the Lord, beloved brother Peter; I, Sotas greet you. Receive our brother Heracles according to custom, through whom I and those with me send greetings to you and all the brethren with you. I pray that you may be strong in God."

Rising and falling prices are a never ending topic of interest with us; these people of old show a similarity with us in this respect. In a letter of the third century B.C. the writer says: "Write to me what was the price of grain with you after the transport was sunk." In the third century A.D. a writer says: "Slaves are very dear here and it is inexpedient to buy. We have not even found a cloak for Eupsephia; for everything has risen in price."

Strikes were known. A letter of 245 B.C. mentions a strike of quarrymen; it runs thus: "Antiochus to Dorion greeting. I have sent you a copy of the letter which Aenesidemus has written to me about the slaves who have deserted from the stonequarry at Cephalae. As soon as you receive this letter use every effort to search for them, and send them to me under guard. Good-bye." General industrial conditions too are revealed in these

letters. In a letter of about 240 B.C. there is a sentence which seems to mean: "See to it that they (i.e. the sailors) stay on their jobs." In the third century A.D., Isidorus in rather careless Greek writes a very "bossy" letter to his brother on farm management. In one place he says: "Don't allow the carpenters to be at all idle; keep them busy." The carpenters were apparently like the modern plumbers. In another place in the same letter the writer uses the same words of the bulls: "Don't allow them to be at all idle." The repair of dykes and canals was a matter of great importance in ancient Egypt. With regard to this, we have from the year 278 A.D. circulars of the strategus and dioecetes. A general *corvée* is imposed on all cultivators. Special supervisors are to be appointed, as is customary. No money payment may be exacted in place of personal service.

There are some interesting reports of lawsuits. Among them is one concerned with the identity of a child (49A.D.). One Saraeus became nurse to a foundling. Saraeus claims that this infant died. Pesouris denies it and claims a child which Saraeus is nursing; but this one is claimed by Saraeus as her own child. The judgment is worthy of Solomon: Saraeus keeps her child, which looks like her, but must refund the money which she received as nurse. Another official document of interest is a Release from Military Service of 52 A.D., on the ground of defective eyesight. Tryphon is a weaver, who is suffering from cataract and shortness of sight. A document of 295 A.D. gives us the list of guards or policemen for the chief streets and public buildings of Oxyrhynchus. There is a lively account of a popular demonstration in this city, from about the same time. But for real life and vigor, there is a report of an interview of Appianus with an emperor (late 2nd century). This is a dramatic scene. The record is a copy of an official report, perhaps a private copy. The notification of the accession of Nero, probably a rough draft for public proclamation, is short and interesting, and is very striking in its claims: "The Caesar who had to pay his debt to his ancestors, god manifest, has joined them; and the expectation and hope of the world has been declared emperor, the good genius of the world and source of all good things, Nero, has been declared

Caesar. Therefore ought we all, wearing garlands and with sacrifices of oxen, to give thanks to all the gods." (Ed.'s trans.) This proclamation is dated thirty-five days after the death of Claudius.

There are many sad letters. I omit the letter of consolation from Irene to Taonnophris and Philo, which is already so well known. Here is one of these, of the third century: "After your departure we were visited with serious sickness, both I and her children; and little Mimus died; and I myself after the sickness have been afflicted with a sore on my foot, and up to this time I have not fully recovered." Here is another, from the same period; it is from a mother to a father. She says: "Make every effort and put off everything and come tomorrow. The baby is sick. He has become thin; he hasn't eaten for six days now. I am afraid that he will die, while you are not here. And if he dies when you are not here, take care that you don't find me dead too." The rest is unintelligible; but we can see that husband was urged again to come quickly.

Among letters with curious statements, the most striking old one was that in which Irene says: "Please send me back in the portmanteau two drachmas' worth of purgative, of which I am in urgent need." (Ed.'s trans.) In another letter of the same period, 2nd century, a husband writes to his wife: "Since we bathed together on the 12th of Phaophi, I never bathed nor anointed myself until the 12th of Athyr." This was one month. Here is one from the Byzantine Period, from a dependent or subordinate to one high in authority. The writer is in debt and says: "Make a loan then, O master, in my behalf to God, Who loves men; for he who shows mercy to the poor, as you know, lends to God." He is quoting Proverbs XIX, 17, and is making a very clever use of his text. Another letter, of the 6th century, does the same thing: "When you come, bring money, that we may not be found again in the greatest need, for we have suffered enough. . . . For it is written in one book, He who has mercy on the poor lends to God." Another letter of the 6th century shows a monk procuring opium for a superior: "As your highness deemed worthy to write to me about the little opium, God be my

witness, I begged it earnestly from the physician, and barely after many efforts I obtained two ounces; and I sent it at once to your highness by the official who carries the mail."

Among the private letters there are all varieties; they touch upon almost every conceivable matter. One letter of 254 B.C. reveals bad behavior and immoral life. The writer of the following letter is in a bad way: "Menon the vinedresser greetings to Zenon. Money for food is due me (on such a date). You would oblige me then by directing that it be given me. For you see that I, just like the others, have neither vegetable nor anything else, but I look to my food-money. Farewell." Another letter of the same period, (3rd century B.C.) says: "And while you were away, I received neither food-money nor anything else, but I lived by borrowing." Belonging to the same series of correspondence as the two letters quoted above are interesting memoranda of Zeno.

Here is a notice that we are not responsible for debts contracted (first or second century): "Since our son Castor spent all his property in riotous living with others and now wishes to use up ours, for which reason we are taking measures that he shall not threaten us nor do anything else that is out of the way, we ask that warning be posted that no one make any further loans to him."

Agricultural operations are continually referred to. One writer tells of the difficulty in winnowing the grain: "For it rained hard and the wind was terrible." Another writes: "Let the cuttings be put in water at once, that they may not become dry." It is doubtful whether *aracos* means peanuts or some other legume, but it is continually occurring as the name of a common crop. A writer of the third century says: "Send me by Kaukalus at least an artabe of peanut-seed. Send it by him, for tomorrow I am going to sow Primus' lot outside of Ptos. Pray be careful not to forget the peanuts. I pray that you fare well."

Here is one of the same period concerning a sick bull: "The drug that was brought down by Akes your ass-driver for the bull that I have with me, by all means send on to me, that the bull may be cured."

Greetings and contents are just as inconsistent as with us. A writer of the third century greets Heroninus as his dearest friend; but, in the body of the letter, after a reproof for neglect he says: "Not only today do I know your unkindness but I have always known it." Some letters contain almost nothing but greetings; many multiply greetings at the end. Here is an example from about the third century: "Greet Statia my daughter and Heraclides and Apion my sons. Greet little Serenus and Kopreus and all of our family by name. Amarantus and Smaragdus send greetings to you." In this connection it is worth while reading over the greetings at the end of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. One letter sends greetings even to the horse. Letters are constantly saying: "Don't forget to do it" (*μη ἀμελήσης*). Some are even more insistent. One of the third century runs thus: "Don't neglect it, dear Sir and father, for you know the case that it can't be put off even till tomorrow." Here is one of the next century, from an agent or caretaker of a farm: "Do not neglect to come and meet us tomorrow, for the field of Abius has been put out to seed, and there is no food for the oxen. I said to Isaac, 'I want money,' and he said, 'I have none.' I therefore send Saas to you, in order that my letter may not be waylaid. I send by the same Saas two old plowshares that they may be made into one good one; for I have made another new plow. So please, sir, do not stay away from us tomorrow, because of the flow of water, so that we may be able to irrigate the large lot. I send you a few vegetables by Saas. I pray for your long health, my master." (Ed.'s trans.) Another writer moralizes on this point: "If you are careless about matters of no importance, how much more about the more necessary affairs!" Entreaties to write are common enough; sometimes a letter consists almost entirely of such entreaties. In this letter a note of anxiety is added: "I urge you therefore, brother, to write to me about your welfare, because I heard in Antinoöpolis that there was an epidemic with you. Don't neglect it then, that I may be in better spirits as regards you."

Letters between members of the same family are likely to be very intimate. In the second century Dionysius writes a letter

to his mother, and sends money, to get his clothes out of pawn. After the letter, he writes in the margin: "Concerning this then, immediately after the festival you will send word whether you received the money and whether you got back the clothes." The advice of Cornelius to his son about his studies is admirable: "Take care not to offend any of the persons at home; and give your undivided attention to your books, devoting yourself to learning, and then they will bring you profit." (Ed.'s trans.) Cornelius' letter by the way is not free from errors; but probably the son, as with us, had better opportunities for education than his father. Fortunately we have a letter concerning studies written by a son to his father: "Do not be anxious, father, about my studies; I am fond of work and I take recreation; it will go well with me." The rest of the letter, twelve lines, is filled with greetings. The following letter of the fourth century, written by Christian parents to their son, is interesting for the bad Greek and for the simple, homely contents: "To my lord and son Ision from Psais and Syra, many greetings. Before all else I pray to the Lord God for your health and prosperity; Thonis your brother sends you many salutations. Next, since the new year we have been very ill, but we give thanks to God that we have recovered; and up to the present time we have not sacrificed the pigs. We are expecting you to come. You know that on your account we have not salted any fish, but we have made the pickle yearly, and, if possible, I will prepare it for your coming. Do as I told you about the case of knives and the pepper." (Ed.'s trans.) The second half of the letter is filled with greetings. In the second century a soldier writes his mother a letter, in which he reassures her about his health, acknowledges receipt of presents, and directs that nothing should be sent to him. This reminds us of the well known letter of the soldier, Antonis Maximus, to his father, to tell him of his safe arrival at Misenum after a stormy voyage and to show appreciation of the way in which his father had brought him up. From the same period, the second century A.D., comes the letter of a prodigal son to his mother; he is ashamed to come home; he is in a bad way; he realizes his wrong, he asks his mother's forgiveness. A letter of the time of Claudius or Nero

is written by a woman to her husband about her son who is in the army: "And concerning Sarapas our son, he has not stayed at home at all, but he went away to camp to enlist. You did not do well then in advising him to enlist. For when I told him not to enter the army, he says to me, 'My father told me to enlist.' " Evidently this is no united, happy home. There is a letter of the third or fourth century, from a son to his father, who is a fugitive; the son expresses anxiety for his father, who he feared might meet with some disaster and not be found again; he makes the suggestion that his father should be provided with a mark of identity; he says: "I wanted to stamp a mark on you." We should like to know more of the circumstances; but the door is left open to the imagination. Another letter that leaves much to the imagination is from the third century: "Flavius Herculanus to the sweetest and most honored Aplonarion, very many greetings. I rejoiced greatly at receiving your letter, which was given me by the cutler; I have not however, received the one which you say you sent me by Plato, the dancer's son. But I was very much grieved that you did not come for my boy's birthday, both you and your husband, for you would have been able to have many days' enjoyment with him. But you doubtless had better things to do; that was why you neglected us. I wish you to be happy always, as I wish it for myself, but yet I am grieved that you are away from me. If you are not unhappy away from me, I rejoice for your happiness, but still I am vexed at not seeing you. Do what suits you; for when you wish to see us always, we shall receive you with the greatest pleasure." (Ed.'s trans.) We should like to know something about the relation of the parties to each other. The address on the verso shows that Herculanus is the patronus of Aplonarion, who may be an emancipated slave. The lady is married; so is the writer, as is evident from the greetings at the end of the letter. The editors say that this "letter is in fact the most sentimental that has yet appeared among published papyri."

Here is a letter of homesickness and complaint from a young man to his mother: "First of all I want you to know that I am annoyed, whenever anybody comes here and does not bring me

a little letter. For if you cared about me, you would write to me. But I have often written to you, etc." A slave girl expresses her devotion to her master: "Taÿs to Apollonius her master, many greetings. Above all I greet you, master, and I pray at all times for your health. I was worried, sir, in no moderate degree, to hear that you were sick, but thanks be to all the gods that they keep you from danger. I urge you, sir, if you please, to send us word; but if not, we are dying because we do not see you daily. I wish we could fly, and come and show our love for you. For we are worried, thinking about you. Wherefore be reconciled to us and send word to us. Farewell, sir; and we are quite well."

The following letter, although already well known, is too good to leave unquoted. In the first or second century of our era, Nearchus writes to Heliodorus, telling him about a journey up the Nile: "Having begun my journey upstream, I came to Syene, and the place where the Nile flows out, and to Libya where Ammon gives his oracles to all men; and I learned good things, and engraved the names of my friends on the sanctuaries for everlasting remembrance." From very early times the Greeks seem to have had this habit of writing their names in public places; our best evidence is the names of the Greek mercenaries of the sixth century B.C. carved on the legs of the colossal figures at the temple of Abu Simbel in Upper Egypt; indeed this is the very region which the writer of our letter was visiting.

A letter of 84 A.D. tells us something about the delivery of mail: "If you send letters to me, you will send them to Theon's candyshop at the bathing establishment of Charidemus; and in the shop you will find Dius son of Syrus, and he himself will give them to me or to Heraclidion son of Abas."

A late letter (seventh century) complains of a brainless servant: "But, master, you ought to write to that farmer of yours, Joseph, that for the future he should not leave your sight. . . . For I am fully convinced that you do not want him to be so brainless (*ἀνεγκέφαλον*). Judging from the form of address, this letter is written to a bishop. The writer is complaining of disrespect shown him by one of his correspondent's laborers; this

disrespect consisted in accusing him of extortion; this workman went too far. There is more evidence in the papyri of this unseemly behavior, even on the part of officials of the church, in the Byzantine Age. Another kind of wrongdoing, that seems quite up-to-date, is referred to in a letter of the fourth century: Eudaemon asks Longinus to come and bring him an instrument for clipping coins.

This letter of the Roman period is simple enough: "To Apollonius my lord, greeting. Above all I pray that you may be well, together with all your family. I received your letter, in which you directed me to inform you about Phibas, whether he came to Hermopolis. I give you the information therefore, that you may not be in doubt; for he did come to Hermopolis. And, the gods willing, he will come to the festival of Demeter and will greet you personally. Greet all your family. Farewell." The following seems to belong to the same series of correspondence; it is from Arsis, mother of Chaeremon, to Apollonius. It runs thus: "Arsis to Apollonius my son, greeting. It was my wish to send greetings to you by letter, since you know what has happened to my blessed son, Chaeremon, that the disaster came suddenly and it is necessary for him to be buried with a second burial. Of necessity I write to you; I have no one but you, after god, and I know the love which you always had toward him. I supposed that the linen cloths were cheap with you; for I bought some here for 300 drachmae, and they are not sufficient. You will write to me then, to whom I am to give these additional 300 drachmae, that he may bring them to you; since Phibas, his slave, is ignorant of the places and cannot come alone, and I cannot."

These specimens will give some idea of the value of the letters for a study of the way of life in Egypt in the Ptolemaic, Greco-Roman, and Byzantine periods. The subject, however, is not exhausted. We cannot here consider material for use in the schools, which is abundant: spelling, reading, and writing exercises; stories, and lines to commit to memory; parts of grammars, with declension, conjugation, and all the rest. For abundant material, however, see Ziebarth, "*Aus der Antiken Schule.*" If we wished to examine the consultations of oracles, the amulets,

the prayers of the early Christians, and their hymns, we should learn much about the religious attitude of the people.

What then may we conclude? I have tried to set before you some typical examples of papyrus letters, with a few specimens of documents of other kinds; these are only a small fraction of the vast amount of material, thousands and thousands of fragments. The letters come from all kinds of people; they are on all kinds of subjects; they are written under all kinds of conditions. In time they come from the middle of the third century B.C. and they continue to the seventh century A.D. This is a wonderful mass of material which we may use in studying the life of the ancient world. So far, not very much use has been made of it; but we shall be using it more and more. And we shall find it well worth our while and stimulating to our interest. The life of a thousand years along the Nile is being revealed to us.

HANNIBAL'S PASS OVER THE ALPS

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II

Polybius was a Greek of the noblest lineage and highest culture, with a large experience from an early age in affairs of state. He was born while Hannibal was still in Italy and is, therefore, almost contemporary with the events he describes. He lived many years in Rome on intimate terms with the greatest Romans of his time. He had rare opportunities for historical investigation and made good use of them. He is the antithesis of Livy, is no stylist, indifferent to rhetorical effect or dramatic presentation, but is vastly superior to him in all the essentials of an historian—carefulness in ascertaining his facts and fidelity to truth and consistency in narrating them. It is generally admitted that he had a passion for truth. "Impartial and endowed with a true historical spirit, Polybius came nearer to being a historian in the modern sense than any ancient writer, not even excepting Thucydides. He treats fully of the Hannibalic war, and is our best authority for its characters and events" (Greenough and Peck's *Livy*). "If the two historians really are at issue, there is little doubt whose authority should stand the higher" (Capes's *Livy*). Of all the sources, now lost, to which Livy may have had access, there is not one equal in authority to Polybius. He made use of original documents and the monuments when available, was a great traveler, and visited the scenes of the events he describes. Speaking of this very expedition of Hannibal, he says: "I speak with confidence on these points, because I have questioned persons actually engaged on the facts; and have inspected the country, and have gone over the Alpine pass myself, in order to inform myself of the truth and see with my own eyes." (Ch. 48.) This makes Polybius a first-hand witness, and removes all doubt as to the correctness of his own knowledge concerning Hannibal's pass. The only question that remains is, does he describe it with suffi-

cient definiteness to enable us to follow him intelligently? It is my purpose to prove that he fulfils this grand desideratum and that the pass is the Little St. Bernard.

Having thus established Polybius as a first-rate authority, I shall now proceed to show that he is also consistent and intelligible.

POLYBIUS'S ACCOUNT

We have seen in my former article that Polybius and Livy agree in bringing Hannibal up to the so-called Island formed by the confluence of the Rhone and Isère rivers. They also agree in their story of the part taken by Hannibal in the dispute about the sovereignty between two brothers in this district. The comparison made by Polybius between the Island and the Delta of the Nile has been thought by some to indicate the vividness of an eyewitness. With Hannibal placed at the mouth of the Isère, the first question, it seems to me, to be determined is his objective. When we are inquiring the way to a place, the first thing to state is where we wish to go. This point in the case of Hannibal is settled for us by the unimpeachable testimony of Polybius, for he states that Hannibal on descending from the Alps marched into the territory of the Insubres (56). Since I consider this statement as crucial and going to the root of the whole matter and absolutely incompatible with the Mont Genève route and Hannibal's arrival first among the Taurini; and since Polybius's bare statement does not seem heretofore to have been sufficient to settle the point, I shall now proceed to corroborate his statement by a series of arguments which I think will be found unanswerable.

First of all, the first place at which we can definitely and beyond all dispute locate Hannibal is the Ticinus river. But this river is one of the northern tributaries of the main stream of the Po, and flows right through the territory of the Insubres. This, therefore, confirms Polybius.

Secondly, it is difficult to explain the encounter of the Roman and Carthaginian armies on the Ticinus if Hannibal crossed by the Mont Genève. This pass lies nearly a hundred miles to

the southwest of the Ticinus. We know from both Polybius and Livy (if I may be allowed to quote Livy except to refute him) that Scipio, after Hannibal gave him the slip at the Rhone, hastened to Italy to meet him at the foot of the Alps. Granting that Scipio lost all trace of Hannibal from the Rhone to his arrival in Italy, it was of the highest importance to locate him as soon as he reached that country. We must give Scipio credit for the exercise of ordinary prudence. Only a few passes were available to Hannibal, and these were well known to the Romans. Scipio must have had his scouts out to give him the earliest possible information of Hannibal's movements in Italy. There was ample time for this, as our authors agree that Hannibal went into camp for some time at the foot of the Alps to recuperate his men from the arduous toils of the journey. If he had crossed by the Mont Genève, Scipio would naturally have met him somewhere between that pass and Turin, and in taking his army across the Po and up the Ticinus would have been marching away from Hannibal and not in the direction to meet him. The undisputed fact is that he first met Hannibal on the Ticinus among the Insubres, where Polybius says he was. This is a natural place for the encounter if Hannibal crossed the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, but an improbable place for the Mont Genève.

My third argument does not admit of such brief treatment, but its importance justifies greater length, for I believe it proves conclusively that Hannibal's destination was the country of the Insubres. There are two things on which Polybius lays great stress throughout his narrative of these events: one is the prudence and foresight of Hannibal, the other the habitual and hereditary hostility of these tribes of the Po to the Romans. In fact, he makes the whole plan of Hannibal's campaign turn on this hostility, and gives this as a reason for having devoted so much space in the second book to these Gallic wars, which he summarizes "from the beginning to the arrival of Hannibal." Throughout this narrative the name of the Insubres repeatedly occurs, and always to the forefront in the struggle with Rome. They were in a state of actual war with Rome at the time of Hannibal's inva-

sion (40). Let Polybius speak (34): "He (Hannibal) had thoroughly acquainted himself with the fertility and populousness of the districts at the foot of the Alps and in the valley of the Po, as well as with the warlike courage of the men; *but most important of all, with their hostile feelings to Rome* derived from the previous war, which I described in my last book, *with the express purpose of enabling my readers to follow my narrative.*"

Polybius tells us in this same chapter (34) that when Hannibal had completed his arrangements in the spring for the safety of Spain, "he yet waited for the messengers whom he expected to arrive from the Celts." And further on: "when his messengers returned with a report that the Celts were ready to help him and were all eagerness for his approach; and that the passage of the Alps, though laborious and difficult, was not, however, impossible, he collected his forces from their winter quarters." These passages show conclusively that Hannibal left nothing to chance, that he knew before he broke camp in Spain both his route and destination. Not only did Hannibal have with him in Spain men who knew the whole route—his messengers from the Celts—but he was met at the crossing of the Rhone by chiefs from the Gallic tribes of the Po, who were a source of great encouragement to the army from "the confidence they inspired by their promise of guiding them by a route where they would be abundantly supplied with necessaries, and which would lead them with speed and safety into Italy" (44). There can be no doubt that these chiefs came from the tribes in revolt against Rome and that they came to conduct Hannibal into their country to assist them in the war. The Insubres were the most powerful of these tribes and the leaders of the rebellion. It is for this reason that Polybius omits the name of the Lebecii, through whose territory Hannibal had to pass to reach the Insubres, for that he was well aware of the location of this tribe is proved by his mention of them in 2,17 as living next to the Insubres, but higher up towards the sources of the Po.

I consider that the above proves conclusively that Hannibal's destination was the tribes of the Po at war with the Romans and that, since the Insubres were the most prominent of these tribes,

Polybius was justified in naming them as Hannibal's objective, into whose territory he first marched.

I have been at great pains to establish this point and to confirm Polybius's direct statement by circumstantial evidence of an incontrovertible character, for I think it furnishes the key to the whole question and is incompatible with the Mont Genève route.

Let us now examine its bearing on Livy's statement that Hannibal came first into the land of the Taurini—that point on which Livy says all agree. It will be seen at once that the statements of the two authors are inconsistent. As Livy shows no knowledge of Hannibal's foresight and prudence in ascertaining his route and the resources of the country through which he was to march, so he is equally unaware of the friendly relations established by Hannibal with the tribes of the Po and the importance attached to them by Polybius. Polybius and Livy agree that the Taurini were at war with the Insubres and hostile to Hannibal. Polybius's account is perfectly natural and consistent. Hannibal arrives among his friends the Insubres, he finds them at war with the Taurini, he offers the latter terms of alliance and friendship, but they, "distrusting the Carthaginians," reject them; Hannibal then joins the Insubres in war against the common enemy (60). The question might be asked, why did the Taurini distrust Hannibal? Naturally, he had arrived among their enemies, the Insubres, and been received as a friend and ally. Livy, on the other hand, in his ignorance of Hannibal's relations to the Padic Gauls, represents it as a piece of sheer good luck (21,39) that Hannibal found the Taurini at war with the Insubres; otherwise they might have attacked and destroyed his army in its weakened condition from the recent hardships. How could Hannibal under such circumstances, when he reached the top of the pass, have encouraged his troops by "pointing to the plains of the Po, and reminding them of the friendly welcome which awaited them from the Gauls who lived there" (54). This passage proves conclusively that Polybius could not have had in mind any pass which, as the Mont Genève, would have led Hannibal into the midst of his enemies. It also proves that this whole Taurini

theory, instead of being a requisite for Hannibal's pass, is an insuperable objection. Moreover it is certain that the Taurini were not among those tribes who sent deputies to meet Hannibal at the Rhone and conduct him to their country. These guides must have come from the friendly tribes, and it was to these that Hannibal pointed from the top of the pass, and not the Taurini.

Let us now turn to the more particular description of Hannibal's route as given by Polybius. The first thing we are struck with is his sparing use of proper names as a means of designation. But this is in keeping with his plan, for he tells us in 36: "My opinion is that in the case of well known places, the mention of names is of great assistance, but that in the case of unknown countries, names are no better than unintelligible and unmeaning sounds." This absence of names to guide us is the reason why I considered it so important to fix Hannibal's goal. With the army at the mouth of the Isère, the destination the Insubres, a map becomes the best evidence for the route and leaves only one to be seriously considered, that is, for a person subject to the ordinary rules of behavior—to accomplish a purpose by the easiest and most available means, or at least to avoid much unnecessary trouble.

Polybius tells us (39) that after crossing the Rhone they "marched along the river itself (*παρ' αὐτόν τὸν ποταμὸν*) in the general direction of its sources as far as the ascent of the Alps into Italy" (*ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν*); and again, after describing Hannibal's activities on the Island, he says (49): "marching along the river (*πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*) for 800 stades in ten days Hannibal began the ascent of the Alps facing him" (50). The point of these two quotations to which I invite special attention is, first, that the entire march from the mouth of the Isère to the pass leading into Italy is along the river, or at least a river; secondly, that only one pass is mentioned. Hannibal's route must meet these two conditions. The Mont Genève route fails on both counts. We have seen above that it is impossible to move an army from the mouth of the Isère to the Mont Genève without leaving the river and passing over to another watershed by passes varying in height from a little under 4,000 ft.

to nearly 9,000 ft. It would certainly be subjecting the text of Polybius to a great strain to call this, "marching along the river up to the ascent of the Alps," meaning by the latter the main pass into Italy.

I shall now mention another requirement which definitely fixes Hannibal's route and is wanting in the Mont Genève. Polybius makes it perfectly clear that the whole march from the mouth of the Isère right up to and including the ascent of the Alps was through the territory of the Allobroges. At the end of chapter 49 he tells us that "the Carthaginians were greatly alarmed at the prospect of marching through the territory of the Allobroges." In chapter 50 we are told that "as long as the Carthaginians were in the plains, the various chiefs of the Allobroges refrained from attacking them," but when "Hannibal began to enter the mountainous region, the chiefs of the Allobroges collected large numbers of their tribe and occupied the points of vantage in advance, on the route by which Hannibal's troops were constrained to make their ascent." Also farther on the Allobroges are named (51). All these passages prove conclusively that Hannibal's route from the mouth of the Isère to the passage of the Alps was along a river and through the Allobroges. This fixes the route and shows that it must have lain up the Isère and over the Little St. Bernard. No other route will meet these requirements. This question of the Allobroges is a great stumbling block to the advocates of the Mont Genève. The only way they can meet it is to assume that in Hannibal's time the Allobroges were not confined to the region of the Isère and Rhone valleys, but may have extended over as far as the Mont Genève. There is not a particle of evidence to support such an assumption. Anything can be proved if we are allowed to make the necessary assumptions. We do not construct theories on what we do not know, but on what we do know.

The Great St. Bernard remains to be briefly discussed. Its only merit is that it leads into the Insubres. Everything else is against it. First may be mentioned its great distance without any compensating advantages. It is 312 miles by the Rhone from the Island to Aosta ("the plains of the Po"), while by the

Isère route it is only 190 miles. The latter corresponds almost exactly with the distance given by Polybius—800 stades along the river to the pass, 1200 (39) from there to the plains of the Po (reckoning 9 stades to the mile). The 800 stades (90 miles) up the Rhone would fall short of Lake Geneva by 100 miles. Then it hardly seems credible that such a striking feature on the march as Lake Geneva, 45 miles long, would not have been mentioned by Polybius, who is supposed to have gone over the route. Besides, this route fails to meet the requisite of lying wholly within the territory of the Allobroges. Nobody will maintain that this tribe ever occupied the Rhone valley as high up as the Great St. Bernard. It was inhabited by tribes with the general name of Semi-Germani. But there are stronger objections of an *a priori* nature. It would be too unreasonable to suppose that the guides who came from the Insubres to meet Hannibal at the Rhone would have chosen this longer route through remote regions and tribes alien in race rather than the easy and direct route by the Isère reached by a much lower pass. The Little St. Bernard is considered a low and easy pass (7179 ft.) and is nearly 1000 ft. lower than the Great St. Bernard (8111 ft.). Over it the Gauls had streamed for centuries into Italy. These guides would naturally have led Hannibal back by the pass with which they were best acquainted and over the route they had so recently traveled, of whose resources for supporting an army they possessed fresh first-hand knowledge. This is certainly the way in which Aristotle's "man of ordinary prudence" would act.

Just a word about the Mont Cenis route. By leading up the Isère and Arc rivers, it fulfils the requirement of marching along a river, but there is no evidence that the Allobroges ever extended as far south as the foot of this pass; and a still graver objection is that the descent into Italy joins the Mont Genève route and, therefore, involves the difficulty of leading into the Taurini instead of the Insubres. Moreover, this pass is not mentioned by a single ancient author, and there is no evidence that it was known or used before the 8th century A.D. But the strongest reason against it is that it involves a useless and senseless detour from the plain and straight path to Hannibal's objective. The

same criticism applies to every other pass than the Little St. Bernard.

I must now mention in conclusion a few minor difficulties which I think will not be found to affect the integrity of the above arguments or the consistency of Polybius. We are told (50) that Hannibal marched along the river for 800 stades, or 90 miles, to where he began the ascent of the Alps. "The pass itself was about 1200 stades (130 miles) which being crossed would bring him into the plains of the Po in Italy" (39). We have seen that this distance of 2000 stades, or 220 miles, is fairly accurate for the whole distance from the mouth of the Isère to Aosta, the actual distance being 190 miles. Allowance must be made for the lack of definiteness in the phrase "plains of the Po." There was no Aosta in Hannibal's time. Now the actual distance from the mouth of the Isère to Bourg St. Maurice at the foot of the Little St. Bernard is 150 miles, and from there to Aosta only 40 miles. It will thus be seen that the 90 miles march along the river falls far short of the actual pass, and the 130 miles of the pass are far in excess of the actual 40 miles over the pass to Aosta. Bearing in mind that the whole distance is correct, it becomes a mere question of names. Polybius's conception of the pass, or "ascent of the Alps," was not the Little St. Bernard alone, but he reckoned it as beginning where Hannibal first encountered the mountainous region in the modern Tarantaise, and he included in his estimate also the descent into the plains of the Po.

This is a simple, consistent, and intelligible explanation, and agrees perfectly with the fact that nine days (53) were consumed from the beginning of the ascent to the head of the pass. The time given for the whole distance of 200 miles from the mouth of the Isère is reasonable under the conditions, ten days along the river (50) and "the actual passage of the Alps fifteen days" (56). It should be remembered that all distances beyond the Rhone are only estimates, and their accuracy is highly creditable to the good sense of Polybius. No other route comes anywhere near this correspondence with the distances given by Polybius, and these agree practically with the actual distance.

Next we may note that Polybius's credit as a geographer has been severely impugned from his statement that "the Rhone rises to the northwest of the Adriatic on the northern slopes of the Alps, and flowing westward, eventually discharges itself into the Sardinian Sea" (47). I respectfully submit that, as a broad general statement, Polybius is correct. The mouth of the Rhone is nearly 300 miles west of its source, and the rest of the statement is sufficiently accurate. On like grounds Polybius has been criticised for stating (47) that Hannibal after crossing the Rhone "marched up the river bank from the sea in an easterly direction." The criticism is trivial. Hannibal did march north for four days, but Polybius speaking broadly ignored this small fraction of the march. Here again the terminus was 200 miles east of the starting point, and Polybius is not only justified, but the statement seems, when taken in connection with the passage which I quote below, to point strongly to the Isère route. He describes the Alps as extending from Marseilles to the head of the Adriatic and separating the valley of the Rhone from that of the Po. "It was these mountains that Hannibal now crossed *from the Rhone valley* into Italy" (47). These passages occur in the narrative just after the crossing of the Rhone, and would seem to imply that Polybius at the moment contemplated Hannibal as about to leave the Rhone valley proper.

Polybius is silent as to Hannibal's crossing the Isère. He probably did cross it, as the marching would have been much better on the north bank, and he would have had to take over a part of his army at least to settle the quarrel between the two brothers on the Island. Strictly speaking, it would be necessary in order to make the journey conform to the requisite of marching in the territory of the Allobroges, as this tribe occupied the country lying between the Rhone and Isère rivers.

The sum and substance of this article is that I have proved that Livy, writing two hundred years after the events, is a poor authority, that his account is confused and contradictory; that Polybius is a first-rate authority, he had talked with persons who took part in the events and had himself been over the pass;

that every word in his narrative is consistent with his statement that Hannibal arrived first among the Insubres; that this is incompatible with Livy's Durance-Mont-Genèvre-Taurini route; that the route up the Isère and over the Little St. Bernard fulfils every requisite for Hannibal's pass according to Polybius; that every other pass fails in some important particulars; that not a single reason can be adduced to show why Hannibal should have chosen a circuitous and more difficult route instead of the plain, straight, natural route up the broad, open, fertile valley of the Isère; that we must credit Hannibal with acting as a man of ordinary prudence and seeking his objective by the shortest and easiest way.

HESIOD AS AN ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHER

BY CHARLES N. SMILEY
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About fifty thousand years after the death of the Neanderthal man and about eight hundred years before the coming of Christ, my hero, Hesiod, was born. Near Mount Helicon in Boeotia "he dwelt in Ascra, a wretched hamlet bad in winter, oppressive in summer, never genial." He dwelt in poverty, and in his poverty dreamed of some utopia "where one day's toil might produce subsistence sufficient for a year." In an imperfect society he sought to teach men how to improve their lot, and in an imperfect universe he sought "to justify the ways of God to men." His name is associated with various poems, but with two in particular which later antiquity believed he wrote. In the first, the *Theogony*, the poet explains the genesis of the gods and portrays the mighty conflict by which Zeus established himself as supreme ruler of the universe; the second, the *Works and Days*, is a sort of glorified prototype of *Poor Richard's Almanac*. These poems are of unusual interest because they represent in a certain sense a culmination of human achievement after fifty thousand years of progress; they are also interesting because of the enormous influence which they exercised on the ethical and religious thought of the Greeks. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that they exerted as profound an influence in the Greek world as the Old Testament has exerted in the Christian world. In discussing these two poems my thought has two main drifts: first, that the ethical teaching of Hesiod is essentially on as high a level as that of the Hebrew prophets who were his contemporaries in the eighth century before Christ, and second that we find in Hesiod in embryonic form the fundamental ethical and religious concepts of Aristotle and Plato. The comparison will not be far-fetched, if we say that Hesiod constituted the Old Testament, and Plato and Aristotle the New Testament of the Greek race.

It is convenient for me to introduce my discussion by calling your attention to what seems at first thought a contradiction and inconsistency in Plato's attitude towards Hesiod. At the close of Plato's *Apology*, Socrates, meditating on the possibilities of a future life, says: "What would a man not give for the privilege of talking with Hesiod?" Again in Plato's *Symposium* Socrates expresses the opinion that Hesiod's spiritual children are far finer than any children of flesh and blood. This is high compliment. But over against it we must set the fact that in Plato's *Republic* Hesiod is placed on the *index expurgatorius* because he has told certain scandalous stories about the gods. There is, however, no necessary contradiction here. If Plato were alive today, it is easy to conceive that he might say: "What would a man not give for the privileges of talking with Moses?" and that too without giving unqualified assent to all the ethical teachings of the Pentateuch. It is easy to conceive what he might say about those who recommend to adolescents the reading of the whole of the Old Testament as a religious exercise. If Plato were living in our twentieth century with the theory of evolution to the forefront of his thinking, we can readily conceive that he would take keen delight in tracing the ethical and religious growth of the Hebrews through the pages of the Old Testament, and in showing how their conception of Jehovah (Yahweh) had grown nobler from century to century; he might further show how as their conception of the deity grew nobler, their ethical concepts had risen to higher levels. Since we live in the twentieth century with the theory of evolution to the forefront of our thinking, this must be our general attitude in discussing Hesiod as an ethical and religious teacher. In the brief space at our disposal we should like to ask five questions about Hesiod. First: Was he a pioneer, the blazer of a new trail; did he lift Greek and human thought to a new level? Second: Did he have the poet's vitalizing power in such a degree that he could impose his ethical and religious views upon the poets, philosophers, and sculptors of subsequent generations? Third: Is there implicit in his *Theogony* and *Works and Days* the fundamental ethical doctrines of Aristotle? Fourth: Did he hold Plato's concept of a philanthropic god limited in power? Fifth:

How does his conception of the deity compare with that of Micah and the first Isaiah, who were approximately his contemporaries in the Hewbrew world?

First: Was he a pioneer, the blazer of a new trail; did he lift Greek and human thought to a new and higher level? No one can answer this question with certainty. It is safer for us however to answer it in the negative, and to say that Hesiod like Homer was a compiler. We hardly have a right to expect that in making his compilation he would be as rigorous as Tribonian compiling the *Pandects* for Justinian, or as consistent as Aristotle in formulating his *Ethics*. We do not complain of the compilers of the Old Testament because they have preserved for us several distinct strata of Hebrew thought; we are rather grateful because they have given us the opportunity to study the progress of the Hebrew race. We shall not dwell therefore on Hesiod's inconsistencies; we shall dwell instead on the essential nobility of the higher strata of his thought. Hesiod's fellow countryman, Pindar, coming three centuries later eliminated various inconsistencies and stripped off much of the mythological machinery that was dear to Hesiod's heart, but the Zeus that he presented was not a whit nobler than the creation of the peasant poet of Ascrea. Perhaps we may venture to assert that the Boeotian conception of Zeus formulated by Hesiod and Pindar is a somewhat more exalted and dignified personality than the Zeus of the Homeric poems.

Second: Did Hesiod have the poet's vitalizing power in such a degree that he could impose his ethical and religious views upon the poets, philosophers and sculptors who were the high priests of subsequent generations? This question we can assuredly answer in the affirmative. In the supreme fifth century of Greek thought we find Phidias carving Hesiod's battle between the gods and giants on the metopes of the Parthenon, illustrating the victory of intelligence over brute force. The same Phidias carved on the pedestal of the Athena Parthenos the story of Hesiod's Pandora, illustrating the victory of wisdom over all the ills of Pandora's box. Again in the Roman world when Horace would teach Augustus the human virtues on which a stable government must rest, he draws his ethical code and imagery from Hesiod.

Still again in our own English world when Milton would portray the struggle between Satan and the hosts of heaven, he draws his inspiration from Hesiod's mighty battle between the gods and giants.

Our third question: Are there implicit in the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony* of Hesiod, the fundamental ethical doctrines of Aristotle? If we were obliged to summarize the *Ethics* of Aristotle in three terms, we should mention his doctrine of justice, his doctrine of the golden mean, and his doctrine of the appropriate. These are but three aspects of one and the same thing. Long before the birth of Aristotle, when the sculptor carved in the vestibule of the temple at Delphi the two words *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (nothing in excess), he laid the foundation of Aristotle's ethical philosophy. We may assume that centuries before the sculptor gave those words their place of high honor in Apollo's temple, they had been deeply ingrained in the mental fibre of the Greek race. It only remained for Aristotle to justify the ways of God to men by proving that this racial instinct made for growth and happiness. Hesiod was born but thirty miles from Delphi. It would be strange indeed if we found no trace of *μηδὲν ἄγαν* in his poems. He was born but ten miles from Thebes, whose inhabitants according to Dicaearchus were noted for their insolence. The local tradition seems to admit the validity of this charge when it invents the myth that the earliest Thebans were sprung from dragon's teeth. We find that Hesiod has much to say against this particular form of excess,—this besetting sin of overweening pride, of arrogance and insolence. All the way through the *Theogony* the cardinal sin is this vice which the Greeks called *ὑβρις*, and for him who is guilty of this enormity, there is reserved the most condign punishments of Tartarus.

In elaborating the doctrine of the golden mean as the avoidance of excess and deficiency, Aristotle enumerates some eleven virtues. Of these, Hesiod lays due emphasis on eight: courage, temperance, liberality, gentleness, truthfulness, friendliness, modesty, and righteous indignation. The three which he omits are court virtues which we should hardly expect to find in the verses of a peasant poet. They are, wittiness, high-mindedness, and magni-

ficence. In giving his final word of advice to his brother, Hesiod emphasizes explicitly the doctrine of the golden mean.

In the first half of the *Works and Days*, the *leit motiv* is justice. The word justice recurs some twenty-two times and always with heavy emphasis. This recalls the fact that Aristotle declared that justice is not a part, but the whole of virtue. In the second half of the *Works and Days* the *leit motiv* is Aristotle's favorite doctrine of the appropriate. To be sure it is a sort of Poor Richard's version of the doctrine, moving in the narrow circle of a peasant's life. The appropriate time to sow, to reap, and to gather into barns; the appropriate time to fell timber, to build a house, to marry a wife; the appropriate time, manner, and means of doing the hundred other things which constitute the short and simple annals of the poor. But for all that it is the doctrine of the appropriate in embryo, ready for Aristotle to expand and amplify in a much wider circle of human interests.

Our fourth question: Did Hesiod hold Plato's conception of a philanthropic god limited in power? The problem of evil and imperfection in the universe greatly perplexed the Greek mind, and the Greek philosophers had many explanations to offer, but there are three that stand forth preeminent. Epicurus, following Democritus, believed that the blind forces of nature after many cycles of fortuitous combinations of atoms had at last produced what seemed to be ordered progress. In such a universe the presence of evil and imperfection is not hard to understand. Heracleitus held that a supreme deity ruled all things by universal law, commanding even strife and suffering to do his bidding and work his beneficent ends. To this supreme deity all things were good; but to man because of his finite intelligence, certain things seemed evil. Plato could not blind himself to the present misery, failure, and imperfection of the world, and so postulated a philanthropic deity, limited in power, struggling for ascendancy against certain hostile forces.

It is this last conception of Plato that we find in its embryonic form in the *Theogony* of Hesiod. With a sweep of cosmic imagination that sometimes borders on the grotesque, he clothes the figure of Zeus with a nobility and majesty worthy of the supreme

deity. If "an honest god is the noblest work of man," surely Hesiod deserves much credit for the conception of Zeus that he presents. The career of Hesiod's Zeus is an apotheosis of justice, and a glorified edition of the story of the self-made man. Born with a bad heredity, he struggled against the hostile forces of a pluralistic universe, established justice and order among gods and men, and was finally elected sovereign ruler of the universe by unanimous consent. No one could boast a worse family tree than Zeus; no mortal, not even Orestes contemplating the sins and punishments of the House of Atreus, could complain that he had suffered more in respect to lineage, than had Zeus, the father of the gods. His great-grandfather was Chaos; his grandfather was Uranus, who first devised deeds of indignity; his father was always referred to as the crafty, crooked-minded one. Such were the family traditions that Zeus inherited. He inherited also a numerous band of relatives who were the embodiment of the vices of his family, who battled against the kingdom of justice that he was striving to establish. In particular there were four cousins who stood as the personifications of the four mental qualities that were most at war with human development and progress. In dealing with these four powerful cousins, Zeus made the penalty fit the crime. High-towering Menoetius, the embodiment of arrogance, insolence and overweening pride, he hurls to the nethermost depths of Tartarus. Prometheus, who uses his high intelligence for purposes of deception, he makes the victim of an ever growing conscience symbolized by the onsets of a voracious vulture. To Epimetheus, the personification of stupidity that refuses to be instructed, he presents all the ills of Pandora's box. To Atlas, patient, enduring Atlas who is devoid of self-assertion, he assigns the task of holding up the heavens, on the outskirts of the world,—the zero of occupations. Here we have in concrete form the four cardinal sins of the Greek mind: insolence, high intelligence used for purposes of deceit, stupidity that refuses to be instructed, and patience that has ceased to be a virtue. These were and are the four primary forces that militate against human progress and the establishment of justice.

Hesiod enumerates some twenty-five other disintegrating forces in human life, against which Zeus was obliged to battle. Most of these forces he brings to defeat by making subtle marriage alliances. Here we come to a sharp line of cleavage between Greek and Hebrew thought. In the Hebrew world, although Jehovah was but a magnified projection of the Hebrew mind, and although the Hebrews themselves practiced polygamy, they never represented Jehovah as polygamous. In the Hebrew heaven "there was neither marriage nor giving in marriage." In the Greek world it was far different. Whenever a heroic form arose, like that of Heracles or Asclepius, whose divine prowess subtracted something from human ill, it seemed but natural to ascribe his parentage to some god. According to Hesiod, however, Zeus's more important marriage alliances were not with mortal women, but with lovely abstractions. No one would find fault with Solomon and his three hundred wives, if he had been content to marry Wisdom, Order, Universal Law, and Memory, and if his children had been such ministers of sweetness and light, such incomparable agents of progress as those which Zeus begat.

His first wife, Metis (wisdom), by a somewhat circuitous route bore to him the bright-eyed Tritonian maiden, Athena, whom the Athenians honored as the goddess of wisdom. His second consort, Themis (the spirit of established custom), bore him six fair and useful children, Good Order, Justice, Peace, and the three Fates who give to men good and evil. These last three had once been considered the children of darkness and murky Night; but in Zeus's new kingdom of law and order they were reborn of a fairer mother, that men might understand destiny the better, and accept it more cheerfully. In the east pediment of the Parthenon, Phidias reproduced in marble Hesiod's conception of the Fates. As we behold them today in the British Museum, we are quite content to have our allotment of good and ill rest upon the knees of three such fair and gracious personalities.

His third wife, Eurynome, whose name indicates that she was a lover of law and order, bore to Zeus the fair-haired Graces, Aglaia, the resplendent one, Euphrosyne, queen of mirth and merriment, and Thalia, giver of abundance and good cheer. All

these contributed to the joy and radiance of human life. Zeus had for his fourth wife Memory, the mother of the Muses, the Muses whose songs gave to common mortals the means of forgetting the ills of life and a rest from care in a world not yet perfect. But the chief function of the Muses was to give instruction to kings in ways of gentleness and wisdom,—wisdom that could give righteous judgment and unerring counsel, wisdom that could stay strife and reverse by persuasion the judgment of the mob.

Not only did Zeus take precaution that kings should be instructed in ways of gentleness and justice; he also had a care for the ideals of common men. Over them he placed thirty thousand guardian angels, the spirits of the men of the golden age, "who ever haunted the earth as ministers of justice, ever holding before the eyes of men the ideals of their own age of gold, when men lived a life void of care and trouble and the wretchedness of age, delighting themselves in festivals out of reach of ills;—and they died as if overcome by sleep; all blessings were theirs; of its own will the fruitful field will bear them fruit, much and ample; and they gladly used to reap the labor of their hands in quietness along with many good things, being rich in flocks and dear to the blessed gods."

Like the prophet Ezekiel, Hesiod held that outward prosperity is indicative of inward rectitude of character. Like the psalmist of Ezekiel's time, he had "never seen the righteous forsaken nor their seed begging bread." However much we may deplore their inaccurate observation of human life, we cannot but applaud their attempt to portray a righteous Jehovah and a blameless Zeus. Three hundred years after Hesiod's time Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon* conceives that a just Zeus might teach men wisdom through suffering. About the same time in the Hebrew world the anonymous author of the book of Job declares that suffering is not necessarily indicative of sin.

We are perhaps now ready to ask our fifth and last question: How does Hesiod's conception of the supreme deity compare with that of Micah and the first Isaiah, who were approximately his contemporaries? Anyone who will carefully compare the

teachings of the first Isaiah with those of Hesiod will be surprised at the almost complete identity of the ethical and religious outlook of the two writers. In the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah, we find four things repeatedly emphasized. First, that a multitude of sacrifices cannot take the place of justice. Second, the doom that surely awaits those who oppress the poor and needy. Third, the doom that surely awaits the proud and arrogant. Fourth, the prophecy of the coming of a righteous king who through wisdom and kindness shall establish justice. The preeminent characteristic of Isaiah's Jehovah is justice, just as it was the preeminent characteristic of Hesiod's Zeus. A dozen times Hesiod condemns bribe-swallowing judges who pervert justice and oppress the poor. A dozen times Isaiah does the same. We are in the habit of regarding *ὑβρις* (pride and arrogance) as a sin belonging peculiarly to the Greek decalogue. But read Isaiah. Ten different times Isaiah tells us how the proud and arrogant shall be brought low. Whether it be some powerful Hebrew, or the king of Moab or Assyria, he shall be brought low by Jehovah, as surely as Hesiod's proud and arrogant Menoetius was hurled by Zeus to the lowest depths of Tartarus. Hesiod makes no prediction concerning the coming of a righteous king, but at great length he tells how Zeus through the instruction of the Muses, teaches kings wisdom that gives righteous judgment and unerring counsel, wisdom that stays strife and reverses the decision of the ignorant mob. All this is repeated again in Micah. Let me close my discussion by quoting the central verse of Micah's prophecy: "What doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" These sentiments, if you but look for them, you will find half a hundred times in Hesiod.

A FLOURISHING LATIN CLUB¹

BY MAUDE C. GAY
Bloomfield High School

The Latin Club of the Bloomfield High School was founded as an answer to the statement "There is nothing interesting in the Classics." True to the ideal expressed in its constitution, it has tried in every way to increase the interest in the study of the Classics, and has also stood firm as a rock against the material trend of present day educational activities. Organized in 1906, it was the pioneer club of the Bloomfield High School, and as far as we know, it was the first of its kind in any preparatory school. In a way it may be considered exclusive, as it limits its membership to the Junior and Senior classes. Its motto is, "Ubi Mel ibi Apes," "Where the Honey, There the Bees," and its colors are the royal purple and gold.

The activities of the club are four fold. There are the regular monthly or semi-monthly meetings, the annual banquet, different methods of raising money, and an annual gift to the school.

The regular meetings are both literary and social in character, and altho there are such rich store houses from which to draw material, yet it is no easy task to plan means and methods which will produce satisfactory results. Such subjects have been considered as A Background of the Ancient Nations, Ancient Greek and Roman Customs, Great Men in Cicero's Time, The Pirates, and The Augustan Age, as well as Professions, Banking, Literature, The Family, Government, and similar themes. Sometimes these have been given as papers and sometimes as brief talks, largely by members of the club, altho occasional help has been received from the outside. Also original plays have been presented in Roman costume. There are always lively games, Romanized to suit the occasion, followed by refreshments appropriate to the subject of the day.

¹ (Read at a District Meeting of the New Jersey Classical Association, Bloomfield, New Jersey.)

For several seasons the Saturnalia was celebrated near Christmas tide, but later the Annual Banquet became the principal event of the year.

One newspaper account says, "Dressed in Roman costume the members and friends of the club attended the annual dinner in the school corridor. Dinner partners were found by matching Roman mottoes with the English translation of each. The corridor which is lined with Roman statues, made an appropriate setting for the Latin play, the tableaux and the scenes from Roman history. The Sibyl distributed leaves to the guests on which were revealed their fortunes, after which games were played and songs were sung in Latin."

According to a newspaper account in war times, "The annual Dinner of the High School Latin Club was, in spite of the absence of a caterer, a great success. The club decided to make the dinner, on account of war conditions, as simple as possible, so different girls volunteered to take charge of preparing and serving the various courses. The unaccustomed task appeared so formidable that it was decided to keep the number of the guests as small as possible; for this reason, no invitation was sent to former members."

The newspaper report of last April is as follows: "The Annual Roman Banquet of the Latin Club given in the High School to the Faculty, Board of Education, and former members of the club was, if possible, more of a success than in previous years.

Down the main corridor, under the Roman arches, among the Roman statues presented by the club in former years, stood the long table. The decorations consisted of yellow daffodils in purple vases, Roman flags with the familiar S.P.Q.R., and artistic purple and gold menu cards.

After the dinner the guests repaired to the 'Atrium' where in Roman costume, was presented a series of tableaux and dialogues from Bulwer Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii*.

Then came a description of the excavations at Pompeii by one of the members who had discovered, beside many valuable curios, a vault filled with Pompeian money. This money had been deciphered and was used in a lively auction which followed.

After an explanation of ancient Roman coins, there came the excavation itself with explanatory charts. The closing number was, of course, the 'School Song' with 'Good Night, Ladies,' sung most lustily in Latin."

But no organization (any more than an individual) can prosper unless there is untiring work done for others.

Every year there has been money to be raised and even in war times there were no slackers. Candy, cake and chocolate sales have been very successful, as was also the rummage sale in 1915. The presentation in 1916 of the great moving picture film, Julius Caesar, was up to that time the most important event of the Club and was so successful both educationally and financially that later there were shown "The Last Days of Pompeii" and "Quo Vadis."

Then came war times when apparently every avenue for raising money was closed: sales of sweets because of the conservation of sugar, rummage sales because clothing was needed in Europe and the Far East, entertainments of all sorts because of public feeling.

What was to be done? Of course the emergency was met, and every time I recall those days I feel proud of our boys and girls. What did they do? Each member went to work with two ideas in mind—to earn the needed money and in a small way to help the community solve the labor problem—and every one earned the specified amount by cutting grass, weeding gardens, caring for furnaces, tending babies, scrubbing floors, and in various other uninteresting ways.

After the reaction from those strenuous days people wanted to be amused, so it was decided to have another moving picture benefit. After trying for months to obtain a Roman film we were told by the men in charge that a film of that sort would not pay and that we could take an ordinary film and make money or give up the proposition.

As the money was greatly needed we decided to use the best picture obtainable with the result that a second theatre had to be opened to accommodate the crowds. The proceeds

made possible the purchase of the fine \$600.00 Simplex moving picture machine, something long needed in the auditorium.

As the first moving picture exhibition in the High School, the club presented in May, 1921, the newly rebuilt film "Quo Vadis," the ticket selling for which was rendered unusually lively by an exciting contest between the boys and the girls of the whole school under the efficient leadership of two of our men teachers. The success of the Latin Club activities, by the way, is always assured by enlisting the interest and sympathetic support of the entire school.

Now for a brief mention of the gifts of the Latin Club to the school which cannot have escaped your notice. The first were the two busts of Virgil and Cicero with the brackets in the corridor of the second floor. Then followed the bronze tinted bust of the Emperor Augustus in the library; the Niké or Winged Victory in the superintendent's office; the Diana of Versailles, the Minerva, the Hector-Andromache-Astyanax group and the Augustus Caesar in the main corridor; and the pedestals for the statues.

The next gift was the heroic-sized Apollo Citharoedus, or Apollo of the Lyre, from the original by Scopas, in the Vatican, Rome, which was followed by the Urania, or Muse of Astronomy, of the Louvre, Paris, and the large Minerva Giustiniani of the Vatican. One corner in the auditorium is still vacant which will doubtless be filled this year. The pedestals for these large statues, you will be interested to know, have been made by our Manual Training Department.

The war changed the aspirations and ideals of the Latin Club as of all other organizations, and the work during 1917-18, as in the best days of Old Rome, was naturally along patriotic lines, with a Liberty Bond to the credit of the club, a contribution of \$15.00 to the Second Red Cross War Fund, and the Honor Roll and Service Flag helping to keep the "Home Fires Burning."

The next year, another war year, saw the club the proud possessor of a second Liberty Bond. The interest from these two bonds is now being used as prizes, the one at the commencement in February, the other at the commencement in June, for

the graduate having the highest percentage in Latin for the four years.

The large photograph of Miss Draper, the retiring vice-principal, was presented the following year with appropriate resolutions.

Last year's gift, the \$600.00 moving picture machine already mentioned, is considered by some the most practical, as it is being used in all departments for educational purposes and at the same time it is making possible the earning of money by all school organizations without the necessity of resorting to the moving picture houses. As an example may be mentioned the performance of "Les Miserables" by the Dramatic Club last December for the purpose of procuring scenery for the High School stage.

You realize, I hope, from this sketch that the Latin Club has become a vital part of the Bloomfield High School. With difficulties apparently insurmountable in having neither modern background nor living language to work with, in having to compete with the exciting athletics, the school dances, the musical and other organizations, it has succeeded in keeping very much alive, in maintaining its high position intellectually, and in creating an active interest in the Classics.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

VERGIL'S AEN. 8, 65

Vergil's *Aeneid*, 8, 65, *Hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit*, seems to have caused the commentators an unnecessary amount of trouble. Heyne, Ribbeck, Conington, Papillon and Haigh, and probably the great majority interpret thus: "Here my*mighty home (Rome), capital of lofty cities, is to come forth." This interpretation usually places commas after *domus* and *caput*, though the same idea could be expressed as well with no commas at all, with *caput* used as predicate nominative. It is only fair to say that many of the eminent scholars who give this interpretation do so reluctantly.

An interpretation sponsored by less distinguished scholars is as follows: "Here (at the mouth of the river) is my mighty home, my source issues from lofty cities (of Etruria)." And here also among those who adopt this interpretation we find some doing so doubtfully. Some apparently take the line as intentionally obscure but I accept the latter interpretation as the only natural one in view of all the considerations involved.

We may first ask why some commentators have preferred the former interpretation. Doubtless, it was mainly due to their desire to identify the *magna domus* with Rome and to make it the *caput* (capital) of the world. There is, indeed, a striking parallelism between the *hic mihi magna domus* of this line and the *hic tibi certa domus* of line 39, which line in a general way does refer to Rome, but only generally. Coming in the same speech of Tiberinus, if there were no obstacles, they might well refer to the same place. And in this connection we may note how the idea of Rome dominates the entire eighth book. Again, *regnum gentibus* of 1, 17, and *ipsa caput populis* of 10, 203 at least suggest the possibility of such an interpretation here. In this case *urbibus* of the disputed line would certainly be dative as Conington indicates under 1, 17, and not local ablative as Nettleship takes it.

Still another consideration leading to the choice of this interpretation is the difficulty felt by some in assigning a home to Tiberinus at the mouth rather than at the source of the river. This will be discussed later but in passing we may observe that this difficulty is not removed if his home is placed at Rome which is also far from the sources.

I give now my reasons for accepting the second interpretation. Gossrau and Page have anticipated some of these reasons but others I believe are given here for the first time.

1. The last five lines of Tiberinus's speech are concerned with his own glorification and not with that of Rome. He claims honor for himself in the future, he calls himself a river most pleasing to heaven, and it but carries on

this idea of his own greatness to claim a mighty home and a source from lofty cities. The importance in Roman thought of source or origin in the matter of determining distinction need no more than be mentioned. The central theme of this book is Rome's imperial greatness but in these few lines the river-god has a greatness of his own.

2. That it is a distinction based partly upon origin seems indicated by the position of *pulcherrimus* in line 75 below. That is, in being situated between *quocumque solo* and *exis*, the adjective gains its significance through its associations. The river is most beautiful because of its origin.

3. The objection that it is not true that the Tiber arises among the cities (of Etruria) appears trivial. Strictly and literally of course it is not correct but it is close enough to the truth for poetical purposes. Equally inaccurate geographical statements in Vergil could readily be cited. Etruria was famous for its great cities of early times. This is but a device for indicating the Tuscan origin of the Tiber, which was often called the Tuscan river.

4. The word *exeo* occurs 18 times in Vergil. In no single instance (unless we except the present case) does it have a meaning such as the first interpretation cited above requires. If in any Latin author it has this meaning it must be rare. In this particular passage it is associated with the river. The reader has then every reason to expect the literal meaning rather than one that is unparalleled in Vergil and metaphorical. (It is inevitable to take it otherwise than it is when used with *amnis* in Geo. 1, 116 and in Aen. 2, 497.) Apparently Aeneas himself understood it thus for in his reply in 74-5 he clearly refers to the *magna domus* in his words *quo te cumque lacus—fonte tenet*; and to the *celsis caput urbibus exit* in the words *quocumque solo—exis*. That is, he used *exis* in exactly the way it was used in 65. The fact that Aeneas speaks thus vaguely of the definite assurances of Tiberinus is quite in harmony with the usual doubtful attitude of the Romans toward the pronouncements of visions.

5. The tense of *exit* is an insuperable barrier to the first interpretation. This difficulty has been so great that some have proposed that *escit*, an archaic form for *erit*, be read. This proposal is really heroic but it is about the same as jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. The prophecies of Jupiter to Venus in the first book, of Helenus in the third, of Anchises in the sixth are all placed in the future. Perhaps no real exception to this practice can be found in Vergil.

6. If we give the line the second interpretation, *hic*, here, that is, at the mouth of the Tiber (some latitude may well be allowed), makes a natural antithesis with *caput*, the source. If the first interpretation is correct, the adverb *hic* goes awkwardly with *exit*, with which we should expect *hinc*, as in Aen. 9, 739.

7. To take *celsis caput urbibus* in the sense of "capital of lofty cities" seems strained. Conceivably, Rome's pre-eminent position may be thus poetically expressed, but in that case the *celsis* draws attention to the greatness of cities other than Rome. But by the second interpretation, it adds to the greatness of the Tiber by magnifying its origin.

8. It is not straining the point to regard Tiberinus as having his dwelling here, near the mouth of the river, though there is no need for restricting him

too closely to the particular place. In 31 above he is called the *deus ipse loci* and below in 66 he seeks the depths of water apparently at this same place.

9. Tiberius Donatus and Servius agree in making *caput* refer to the source of the Tiber and the *celsis urbibus* to the famous cities of early Etruria. Their combined testimony certainly has weight.

These reasons seem to me to justify the second interpretation. Rome may lie in the background of the poet's consciousness and may shine with a reflected glory, but this line is part of the glorification of the river Tiber. Aeneas's reply bears out this point in the fact that he acknowledges the greatness of the Tiber and offers it homage.

ARTHUR L. KEITH

CARLETON COLLEGE

PROXIMUS ARDET

Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. Hor. *Epist.* i, 18.84.

iam proximus ardet

Ucalagon.

Verg. *Aen.* ii, 311f.

iam frivola transfert

Ucalagon.

Juv. iii, 198f.

That the Juvenal passage is a reminiscence of the Vergilian is of course a commonplace. But of the numerous editions into which I have looked only those of Desprez (1835) and Yonge (1867) compare Horace's line with Vergil's; even their bare citation does not make plain whether they suggest a mere resemblance or a reminiscence. Wilkins in his edition of the *Epistles* oddly passes Vergil by and, on *tua res agitur*, compares Juv. iii 198-200.

Though the *Aeneid* was published in 19-17 and this epistle c. 20, in view of the relative prominence of the two poets and Vergil's *recitatio* (c. 23) in which *Aen.* ii had a part, no one will doubt in which direction (if either) the imitation was. *Hospes . . . arsit* of *Sat.* i 5.71f (cf. *Tibull.* ii 5.21, *Ovid Fast.* vi 437, *Juv.* iii 201) shows that the use of a man's name for his house in this connection is not taken from Vergil. But this particular phrase, in the same metrical position and almost identical in the two passages, repeatedly quoted from Vergil later (see Ribbeck *ad loc.*), may well have been adopted by an intimate contemporary while the first interest in the great epic was strong. Certainly it is at least as convincing a piece of imitation as some of those listed by Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, p. 80.

Whether the silence of editors is due to oversight or scepticism, the resemblance seems worth noting—if only because it falls within the range of reading of undergraduate students of the *Epistles*.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

CLYDE MURLEY

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Riverside.—On April 26, the Circulus Classicus of the Girls' High School, Riverside, California, gave a Roman banquet, following out as closely as possible the Roman customs. The banquet took place at the home of one of the members, beginning at five o'clock in the afternoon. The guests, sixty-eight in number, wore white togas and wreaths, and each laid aside her own name for the evening, and bore the name of some famous Roman or deity. Cushions on the floor were used in place of couches, and the long tables were placed at a convenient height from the floor. Place cards in the form of miniature scrolls, with quaint seals held the Latin names of the guests, while each one was provided with the simple menu, tied with royal purple ribbon.

As the guests took their places, "servae," members of the Freshman Latin classes, presented finger bowls. Then the banquet proceeded from "eggs to apples." Spoons were the only articles of silverware provided. Between courses the diners were entertained by a solo dance and the recitation of the "Roman of Old." *De more* a sacrifice was duly made to the gods. Salt and meal were burned while a priestess chanted the Latin words of the ceremony. The banquet, conducted along classical lines, was a huge success, and was greatly enjoyed by the girls. The success of the event was due to the work of Miss Eleanor Nelson, instructor in Latin, who supervised the committees of girls in planning the arrangements.

Los Angeles.—The regular spring meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section, took the form this year of a luncheon with program following. The place was the Canterbury Inn, Los Angeles, and the date was Saturday, April 22. About fifty members of the Association partook of the excellent repast provided by the Inn and listened to the very enjoyable program given under the direction of Professor W. D. Ward of Occidental College, President of the Association. The printed announcements gave the title of each paper in Latin, but the speakers had refused to permit their personalities to be thus disguised.

Dr. A. P. McKinlay of the University of California, Southern Branch, advocated the use of the *Iliad* and Ovid for beginners in Greek and Latin, and thus precipitated a lively discussion which demonstrated the desire of many teachers for something easier and more interesting than Caesar for the second year. Mr. Sidney Smith recited the prologue to the *Rudens*, from the performance recently given at the Hollywood High School. Miss Anne E. Edwards of the Hollywood High School told most entertainingly of her last summer's trip to Italy and of the special favors shown to her party by Professor Boni himself. Dr. E. C. Norton of Pomona College in his own inimitable way gave the company Fact and Fancy in the teaching of the Classics.

It is understood that the several members of the Association are next year to experiment with various authors to follow the beginner's book, and at the end of the year to compare notes on their experiences.

The following officers were elected for the coming year:

President, Miss Mary A. Tucker, Hollywood High School.

Vice President, Miss Florence Kimball, Long Beach.

Secretary, Miss Anne E. Edwards, Hollywood High School.

Executive Committee, Dr. A. P. McKinlay, University of California, Southern Branch, and Professor Welcome A. Tilroe, University of Southern California.

Associate Editor CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Dr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School.

San Diego.—Mr. Lawrence W. Carr, Head of the Language Department, sends us the following interesting statement of a proposed radical change in the Latin program in the San Diego High School: "We all know the difficulties under which the teaching of Latin is laboring these days and the need of some revision in the content and method of teaching, especially of the first two years. For some time we have been giving one and a half years to the completion of a first year book with some easy reading. Now we feel that a further change would make the course of much more practical value to the great majority of our students and with this in view have worked out the following plan:

- IB Elementary Latin (Smith)
Ora Maritima (Sonnenschein) 23 pages
- IA Elementary Latin (Smith)
Fabulae Faciles (Ritchie) 20 pages
- 2B Elementary Latin (Smith) finish
Fabulae Faciles (Finish) 33 pages
- 2A Latin Plays (Schlicher) 2 plays, 50 pages
Latin Reader (Nutting) 100 pages
- 3B Caesar 3 books
- 3A Cicero 3 Orations, or 2 Orations and the Phormio (Simplified)
- 4th year. Ovid, the equivalent of one book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.
The *Aeneid*, Books I, II, III, IV and VI.

The radical feature is, of course, the delaying of Caesar until the third year; but we feel not only that the students who take more than two years of Latin will read it with much more pleasure and profit and with the greater facility resulting from an extended course of easy reading, but that for those

who do not take more than the two years the value of a much greater amount of easier reading far outweighs that of the smaller amount of Caesar now read with so much difficulty.

Colorado

Colorado Springs.—The Colorado College Classical Club presented two Latin plays on May 20th, 1922. "Pyramus et Thisbe" was given in the Latin version of Richard Caemmerer of North Denver High School, and the "Captives" of Plautus was given in the English translation of Dr. E. G. Wilkins of the University of Colorado. These plays were presented under the direction of Professor C. C. Mierow and Miss Dorothy Printup of the Department of Classics, assisted by Miss Lillian Sullivan, president of the club.

Georgia

Atlanta.—The second annual meeting of the Southern Section of The Classical Association of the Middle West and South was held in Atlanta April 27-29. Representatives were in attendance from every state in the territory and from one or two states outside the territory. The sessions of the first two days were devoted to the reading of papers; that of the third day to an informal discussion of high school problems and to reports on the investigation into the teaching of Latin by The American Classical League. An address was delivered by Dean Andrew F. West and a report made by Dr. Mason Gray. From every point of view the meeting was a great success.

The program in detail was printed in the May number of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.

On Friday the Association was the guest of Emory University where the day's sessions were held and where the members were entertained at luncheon by the institution. On Saturday Oglethorpe University was host at luncheon. On both occasions everything possible was done in generous and hospitable fashion for the comfort and entertainment of the members.

The officers elected for the coming year are Josiah B. Game of the State College for Women, Florida, President; D. M. Key of Millsaps College, Mississippi, Vice-President; E. L. Green of the University of South Carolina, Secretary-Treasurer.

Illinois

Chicago.—At the thirty-fourth Educational Conference of the University of Chicago with Academies and High Schools on May 12th, the Classical Section presented the following program: "Latin as a High School Subject," by John C. Hanna, State Supervisor of High Schools; Report of the Progress of the work by the Chicago Latin teachers on the Derivative Lexicons, by A. W. Smalley, Hyde Park High School; Round Table Discussion: "My Most Perplexing Problems," led by Professor F. J. Miller.

In the Prize Scholarship Examinations set by the University in twelve different departments in connection with this Conference, the prize in Latin was won by Louis Scala, of the La Salle-Peru Township High School. Honorable mention was awarded to the following students: John K. Barton, Hyde Park High School; Carl Fuhrmann, Nicolas Senn High School; Margaret J. Novak, (school not reported); Lucy E. Lamon, Faulkner School;

Willard Munzer, Lake View High School; James F. Kochler, Nicolas Senn High School.

The examination was taken by thirty-six students.

The University Graduate Classical Club meets every fortnight and has just completed an unusually successful year. Its last meeting was held on May 23, at which Miss Lillian M. Wilson presented some "Reconstructions of the Roman Toga," illustrated with living models.

On May 19, the undergraduate Classical Club gave a very realistic and successful Roman Banquet as its final meeting of the year. Roman food was eaten and Roman costumes worn.

The Chicago Classical Club meets once each quarter at a banquet in the Hotel La Salle. It is a large and flourishing club and unites all the classical interests of Chicago and its vicinity. Its success this year has been largely due to its president, Mr. Pason S. Wild, and its secretary, Miss Mary J. Moynihan. At its final meeting on May 13, Mr. Lorado Taft, the well known sculptor, spoke on the subject of "Our Greek Inheritance, Especially in the Art of Sculpture."

Indiana

Indianapolis.—The Latin Club of Arsenal Technical Schools was organized at a meeting held on February 14th. Eight officers with two consuls as heads were elected. Latin valentines were exchanged and "Gaudeamus igitur" was sung. A definite course of study has been pursued at the monthly meeting, each centering about some famous Roman character. On the Ides of March, Julius Caesar was studied; interesting papers regarding his life were read, as well as an original ode, and a translation describing our English forefathers, by student members of the club.

April 21, the *Parilia*, was given over to Cicero. Readings from "De Senectute" and "Archias" were delivered, and special music was furnished by the Girls' Ukulele Club, the songs being in Latin.

The concluding meeting will be an out door affair held on Technical's new athletic field. The numbers on the program will be arranged with special reference to the poet, Virgil, but most of the meeting will be informal, in order that the hundred members may become better acquainted with each other.

Kentucky

Lexington.—The third annual meeting of the Kentucky Classical Association met with the schools and colleges of Lexington on April 28, 29. On the program was a "Welcome Address," by Dr. T. B. McCartney, of Transylvania College; "The Latin Tournament," by Miss Pauline Peeples, of Kentucky Wesleyan College; "How Medals are Won," by Miss Olive B. Catlin, of Louisville Girls High School; Report of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, by Professor B. T. Spencer, of Kentucky Wesleyan College; Résumé of the Plans and Purposes of the Classical Investigation, by Dr. Mason D. Gray; "A Word for the Classics," by the Hon. M. A. Cassidy, Superintendent of the Lexington Schools; "Latin from the Dean's Point of View," by Dr. Paul B. Boyd, Dean of the College of Arts and Science, the University of Kentucky.

This program was varied by a classical play, "The Return of Spring" (based on the Demeter-Persephone myth), by Elmer Levinger, staged by the Latin Department of the Lexington Senior High School, under the direction of Miss Mary Wood Brown; by an illustrated lecture on the Parthenon by Dr. H. C. Tolman, of Vanderbilt University; by a series of Round Table Discussions, and by a motion picture show, "Quo Vadis," one of the George Kleine Company reels.

Maine

Brunswick.—The Classical Club of Bowdoin College presented the *Moscellaria* of Plautus, in the translation of Dean Paul Nixon, on April 22. Professor Thomas Means directed the play.

Ohio

Bryan.—On May fifteenth, the Latin classes of Bryan High School entertained the pupils of the eighth grade and the teachers of the Junior High School, and of the Senior High School, with a Latin party. The gymnasium was decorated in the High School colors, and something like thirty posters were on exhibition. Most of these posters were based upon suggestions given in Miss Sabin's book, "The Relation of Latin to Practical Life." Furthermore, numerous Latin quotations and proverbs were hung upon the wall, as well as "Salve," "Nihil Intret Mali" and "Cave Canem." The last motto was placed above a very fierce looking china bull dog.

As each person entered the gymnasium, he was presented with a Latin name, and a small booklet with pencil attached. The names were used later in a contest, the object of which was to secure as many Latin names as possible in the book, in a given length of time. A box of candy was given to the winner. A game similar to "Fruit Basket Upset" was played by using the names. This provided a great deal of merriment.

The following program was then rendered: Vocal Duet, "Lene Fla"; "The Relation of Latin to Practical Life"; "Interesting Places in Rome"; "Answers to Some Common Objections to the Study of Latin." Then was given the Latin play "Ludus Romanus." The whole performance was a most enjoyable affair.

Granville.—At the meeting of the Classical Association at Madison, Wisconsin, initial plans were formed for an Ohio state conference of Latin teachers. The personnel of the committee as far as completed is: Professor Louis E. Lord, of Oberlin College, Chairman; Professor Victor D. Hill, of Ohio University; Professor Rollin H. Tanner, of Denison University; Professor W. T. Semple, of the University of Cincinnati; Professor W. L. Carr, of Oberlin College; Miss Alice D. Hare, of East High School, Columbus; Miss Blair, of Shaker Heights. The committee when completed will represent colleges and secondary schools of all parts of the state. The presence of the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South on this committee is a good omen. The conference will meet next year on November 10-11 at Denison University, Granville.

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

Mr. Kenneth Scott sends us the following statement: "In the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* of January 1922 appeared the following paragraph in the article entitled "Archaeology in 1920-21" by Prof. George H. Chase of Harvard University: 'From Pagasae in Thessaly the discovery of a Mycenaean palace in a good state of preservation is reported, but I have seen no more than the mere statement of fact.'

This account in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* led to my visiting the city of Volo which is a few kilometres by land from the site of Pagasae just across the harbor. According to the account of Mr. Arvanitopoulos, Ephor of the district, the palace referred to is not situated at Pagasae but within Volo itself and occupies part of a low hill which rises from the plain and is known as the "Kastro" or Old Town conspicuous by the Turkish minaret which is to be seen above the squat houses of the quarter. This hill Mr. Arvanitopoulos considers as the ancient Iolkos, celebrated in legend as the home of Jason, and during the past year a small excavation was made on one of the sides where the slope is abrupt and crowned by a wall of late date and several houses, whose presence prevented his pushing the excavation to any satisfactory point. Together with the Ephor I examined the spot and there is no doubt but that the whole hill was the site of a prehistoric settlement of some extent.

At the point excavated the remarkably clear stratification points first to a long period of occupation during Neolithic times as is indicated by the character of the potsherds and a Neolithic grave. Immediately above this stratum is an extensive flooring of a kind of plaster about two centimetres thick, which greatly resembles the floor of the megaron at Mycenae, and whose rather wide foundation walls, made of small, flat, thin stones without binding, are set at some distance down in the Neolithic level. In one corner of the flooring Mr. Arvanitopoulos discovered bits of stucco with traces of paint, and he believes that upon excavation of the area wall paintings such as those at Knossos may be found. Resting on the floor is a layer of charred wood which shows that the building was destroyed by fire, and a considerable stratum of soil above, apparently without potsherds, would lead one to believe that the site was practically deserted after the great fire for several centuries. After the removal of one or two houses, which are above further excavation will be possible and should throw much light on the civilization of prehistoric Thessaly which already has so rich a mythology.

As a result of the competitive examinations held March 21-23, one of the Fellowships in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens has been awarded by the managing committee to Mr. Philip Haldane Davis, A.B., Princeton, 1921, a student in the graduate school of Princeton during the past year. The other Fellowship was assigned, without re-examination, to its present holder, Dr. Frank Plotinus Johnson, A.B., University of Missouri, 1914; A.M., *ibid.* 1915; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1921. Dr. Johnson, whose doctoral dissertation was on Lysippus, is preparing for publication a catalogue of the sculptures in the museum at Old Corinth, where the School has been carrying on excavations for many years.

Hints for Teachers

By B. L. ULLMAN, University of Iowa

[The aim of this department is to furnish teachers of Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help to them in the class-room. Teachers are requested to send questions about their teaching problems to B. L. Ullman, Iowa City, Iowa. Replies to such questions as appear to be of general interest will be answered in this department. Others will, as far as possible, be answered by mail. Teachers are also asked to send to the same address short paragraphs dealing with teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. These will be published with due credit if they seem useful to others.]

Latin for English

A number of suggestions in this department have dealt with adaptations of the spelling-match to various phases of Latin teaching. A number of years ago I utilized the principle in derivative contests for high-school pupils. Two methods are possible. A Latin word is pronounced and the pupil called on must give an English derivative promptly. If he fails to do so or makes a mistake he may be counted out or charged with an error. In the latter event score is kept and the pupil having the fewest errors is the winner. Again an English word may be given and the Latin original requested. One may start with a list of about fifty words.

Moving Pictures

Since making up the list in the February number of the "Hints," I have learned of a film called *The Adventures of Ulysses*. This may be rented from National Non-Theatrical Motion Pictures, Inc., 232 West 38th St., New York. The story takes up three reels and is followed by two reels showing modern scenes of the places visited by Ulysses. The five reels are rented at \$40. The first three reels may be had separately for \$25. Special rates are offered for two or more days.

Vocabulary Study by Direct Methods

Nearly everyone is agreed that an extreme form of direct method is not suited to Latin teaching in American schools. But there are various phases of teaching directly which are very useful. The direct teaching of vocabulary for example, may at least supplement the usual methods. One method is to have the pupils make illustrated vocabulary notebooks. They clip pictures from magazines and elsewhere and underneath them write the Latin word or words suggested, e.g., *miles*, *puer*, etc. I have seen some very ingenious books of this sort. A child across the paternal knee illustrated *poenas do*, a yawning schoolboy was marked *piger*, boys "playing Indian" were labelled *terremus*. Another plan is to have the pupil put on a sheet of paper all the Latin words suggested by a picture. A third plan is described by Miss Claire Thursby, of the University High School, Oakland, Cal.:

We have made a set of cards about six by nine inches; on these we have pasted pictures illustrating the words we wish to teach. Some of the pictures are real Roman scenes while others are modern pictures which are descriptive of the words in the vocabulary. Each card is numbered. With this we have a card catalogue with the vocabulary words arranged on the cards in alphabetical order. After each word is the number of the card which illustrates the word. These cards are kept in order so that it is very easy to turn immediately to the proper card. By this device the student is made to feel that a word is not merely a number of letters but that it really stands for something with which he may be intimately associated. We also use these picture cards for oral work in class. Of course there are some words that cannot be pictured but the majority of the words lend themselves to this picture device.

A Suggestion for the Virgil Class

Miss Laura K. Pettingell, of the Beaver Country Day School, Brookline, Mass., writes as follows:

For the day before Easter vacation or on some hot day in the spring term, I like to let my Virgil class find Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem, "Aestivation," on the board when they come into the classroom. It usually furnishes us amusement—and perchance, profit—for the whole period.

I have tried it, too, with Cicero classes while they are having the second Catilinarian, but, though they appreciate the third and the last lines, the rest is too nearly an unknown language to give them much enjoyment. But when they have been friends with Virgil for several months, there is real delight in deciphering the now intelligible lines.

Quips

One familiar type of puzzling jest is that which consists of punning translations of the words and syllables of an English sentence:

Qui crudus pro te lectus albo et spiravit. (Who-raw for the(e) re(a)d white and blew.)

Numquam animus, ignis via. (Never mind, fire a-way.)

Misi meos super omnes ad coudam vel esse homines mortui. (I sent my over-alls to the tail-or to be men-de(a)d). A variant reading for *super omnes* is *enkelitus* (pants).

Versions and Parodies

The high-school pupil is peculiarly fond of parodies and is often exceedingly clever at them. When directed in the right channel they may be very valuable aids and stimulants in teaching. A good parody is impossible without a thorough knowledge of the thing parodied. Miss Marie Porter, of the Ottumwa, Ia., High School, has encouraged work of this type. In the school paper, *The Argus News*, there is a very good parody of Cicero called the "Four Hundred Sixty Ninth Oration against Study." Here are a few excerpts:

How long, O study, will you abuse our patience? How long will your terrors haunt us? To what end do you bring us by your misdemeanors? Are you worried not at all by the threats of wise pupils, not at all by the groans of helpless flunkers, not at all by the writhings of ruined minds? Do you think your system is unknown? Do you think your doings are undiscovered? Do you think your cruel murders will be unavenged?

O, what a world! O, what a people! We know this goes on, yet study exists! Exists? Indeed, it flourishes! In every countryside, in every village, in every town, in every city stands a schoolhouse. In every countryside, in every village, in every town, in every city, a new and larger one is being built!

Helps in Translation

Miss Elizabeth F. Smiley, of Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Mo., has sent in some excellent suggestions for translating. It is to be remembered that they are hints for *translating*, not *reading*. As Miss Smiley says in No. 9, the pupil should be taught to get the thought in the Latin order. When he puts the thought into English he should follow the English order. Even so, rule No. 8 must be used with caution.

1. Do not read across words that connect clauses, or other word groups.
2. Do not read across words that connect clauses, or punctuation marks.
(These are little boundary marks that separate distinct thoughts.)
3. Do not read an accusative first. (This completely reverses the thought.)
4. If the verb comes first, supply "there" and allow it to remain first.
(The student confuses himself by too much transposing and nine times out of ten weakens the force of the sentence.)
5. A relative pronoun at the beginning of a sentence is read as a demonstrative.
6. In translating an ablative, if no preposition is given, try "by."
(In many cases it will be the word required; if not, the error is apparent and easily corrected.)
7. Read ablatives and datives after verbs; genitives modify nouns.
8. Learn to pick up subject, predicate and object.
(A sentence is usually tractable if these are located.)
9. *But* practice getting the thought in its own Latin order.
10. Practice supplying an antecedent for relative clauses.
11. Read nouns bringing out case and number.
(Gender if necessary.)
12. Read verbs bringing out person, number, tense and voice. (Mood will usually take care of itself, tense and voice are very important.)
Parentheses are not given to the classes save by way of explanation.

Questions and Answers

Where can I secure samples of entrance questions used in the Eastern colleges?

The questions of the College-Entrance Examination Board are published by Ginn and Co. (Boston, New York, Chicago, etc.). The complete Examination Questions for 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 are 90 cents each, for 1920, 96 cents each; the Comprehensive Examination Questions for the same years are sold at the same prices. The Examination Questions in Latin and Greek are published separately, 1911-15 in one volume at 55 cents, 1916-20 in preparation. There is a discount of 25 per cent to teachers.

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